

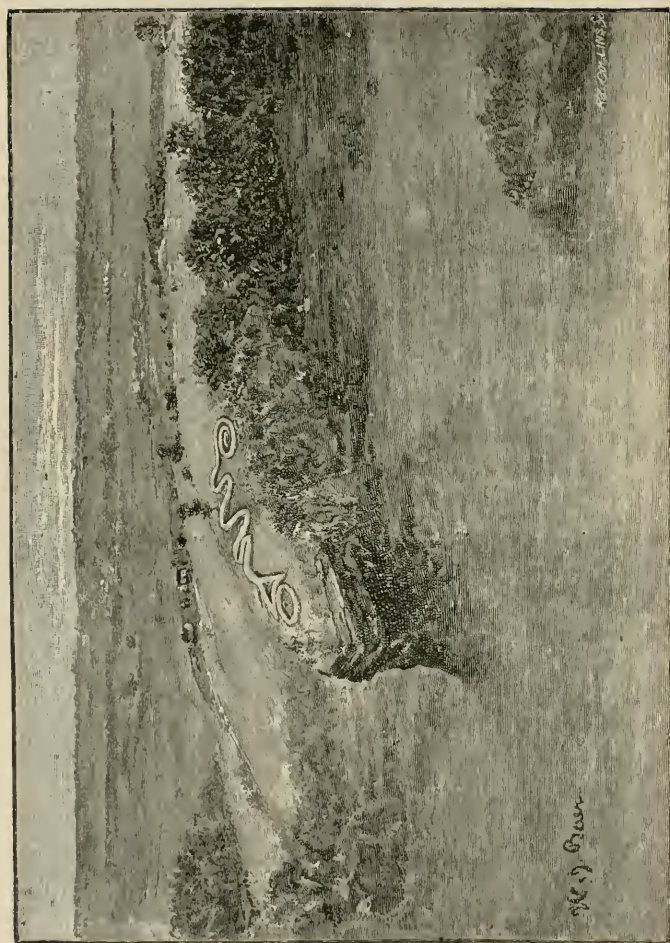


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PREHISTORIC AMERICA

VOLUME II.

BY STEPHEN D. PEET,

Editor of the American Antiquarian.

CHICAGO, ILL.:
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN OFFICE
1898.

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Prehistoric America.

VOL. II.

EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS

AND

ANIMAL EFFIGIES.

BY STEPHEN D. PEET.

Editor of the American Antiquarian.

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CHICAGO, ILL.:
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN OFFICE.
1893.

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TO
MY BROTHER,
EMERSON W. PEET.

AN AFFECTIONATE TESTIMONIAL OF
GRATITUDE AND RESPECT.

PREFACE.

This book is the result of personal explorations which have continued at intervals for several years. The explorations have been mainly in the state of Wisconsin but have extended into Iowa and parts of Ohio. The effort of the author, however, has been to give information about all effigy mounds. He has therefore drawn from descriptions of mounds which have been explored by other parties. These are situated in Dakota, eastern Iowa, Georgia, Florida, as well as in Ohio and Wisconsin. Where the account is taken from other books full credit has been given. The engravings in the book have been mainly prepared from drawings made by the author, and these from the notes of surveys reduced to a scale of inches. A number of them however, have been taken from the works previously published, such as "Ancient Monuments," or "Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. I," Lapham's "Antiquities of Wisconsin," "Smithsonian Reports," "Annual Reports of the Ethnological Bureau," "American Naturalist," "Wisconsin Historical Collections" and "Proceedings of Wisconsin Academy of Science and Art."

The engravings are generally silhouettes. They do not represent the mounds in relief, but nevertheless give a good idea of their shapes. Silhouettes are better than outline drawings for they represent the shape of the animals and suggest the ideas of relief. Both of these, however, are imperfect for they do not illustrate the beautiful earth moulding which was so close an imitation of the actual living creature. If the mounds could be given in section the relief would be better understood but in the majority of cases the mounds are so worn down that the section would not really represent the effigy as it was when it was finished and therefore this has not been undertaken. Photographs of the mounds would probably have been more accurate than plotting and drawing to a scale, but photographs would represent the worn condition and would have proved unsatisfactory. The drawings are generally on a scale of 100 ft. to an inch. Where groups were to be described the scale was reduced to 200 ft. to an inch. Where maps of several groups are given it is reduced to 400 ft. The topography has, in a few cases, been represented in the engravings. The descriptions of the mounds have been written with care after they had been visited several times. It was the experience of the author that a single visit was not sufficient, for each successive visit would be sure to bring out some new point, either new mounds were discovered or new relations of the mounds to the topography were recognized, or new ideas were gained as to the use of the mounds or new significance seen in their shapes.

As to the points which the author has sought to bring out by his explorations and descriptions the following is a summary:

First—the shape of the effigies. Great care has been taken to make the shape conform to the measurements, and yet the effigies have been studied by the eye so as to bring out the actual figures.

Second—The grouping of the effigies. The relative position of the various figures in the groups and the relative position of the groups in each series and of the series to each locality have all been studied. The practical use of the effigies could not be ascertained without thus studying the system.

Third—The relation of the effigies to the topography has been closely scrutinized for this often reveals the real object. The elevation as well as the location has been studied. The view from the mounds has also always been noticed. It is an outside observation which often suggests the intent and purpose of the effigy as well as the measurement of the figure itself.

Fourth—The contents of the mounds have been studied with more or less care. Excavation has not been the chief object. Relic hunting is not a specialty with the writer.

Fifth—The totem system and clan life have been carefully investigated. The location of the effigies with the geographical surrounding will reveal much of the real history and character of the builders. The shape of the effigies will often show the name or emblem of the clan. This inner history of the people has been a chief object of study.

The destruction of the monuments has been a great hinderance to the full understanding of them. The writer considers himself fortunate in having entered upon this field before the destruction was carried on further than it is. In a few years the data would have been lost and it would have been impossible to give the explanation of groups. Even the destruction of a single mound will at times destroy the clue which is essential to understand the groups. The mythologic significance and the intent of the effigies as picture writing cannot be deciphered when any of the figures have disappeared. It is to be hoped that the effigies will be preserved and that this book will be an inducement for the continuance of the study and will increase the interest in them as the monuments of a people which has passed away.

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CHAPTER I.

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INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY OF EXPLORATIONS AMONG THE EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

The emblematic mounds and animal effigies form the subject of the book which we are to present to our readers. They are very interesting objects of study. The mounds are mainly in the shape of animals. They are formed of earth, and are generally raised above the surface of the ground and present the shape of animals in such a way as to impress the senses with the resemblance. It is not merely because they are accurate imitations of animals nor because they represent animals which have long since disappeared from the regions, that they become so interesting, but because of their religious significance.

We regard the emblematic mounds as totems, and have so presented them in this book. Totemism is not fully understood and yet so much is known about it that any one can realize that it is a very important element in the life of many of the prehistoric races. Totemism is not confined to the American soil. It appears in Africa, in Arabia, and in every land where tribes are in existence, especially where the tribal organization has its full and free scope. There is no doubt but that the tribes of Israel, at a very early date, had some features of totemism among them, for we have allusions to these totems in the words of the patriarch when he blessed his sons. The tribe of Issachar had the wild ass as its totem, but the tribe of Judah had the young lion. The emblem of the tribe of Dan was a serpent in the way, that of Naphthali was a hind let loose, that of Benjamin a wolf. These were all animal emblems, and the picture of the animals given to us by the word painting of the patriarch becomes very suggestive of the history of the people.

We are to take up the study of the emblematic mounds not merely as imitations but as emblems. We are to recognize the artistic skill embodied in them, but we are to go beyond this and to search out the significance of the figures. The effigies were useful as well as ornamental. We are to discover the use of the effigies. We invite our readers to accompany us in the many pleasant walks which we are to take over the beautiful hill-tops and along the delightful streams and rivers and around the banks of the charming lakes with a view of studying these remarkable figures. We shall find them embossed upon the surface of the ground, but in a great variety of shapes. The animals may not be familiar to us, and at times it may

be difficult to recognize from the form, the animal which was intended and yet if we will take the tape-line and the compass and measure them out and reduce them to a scale of inches we shall not fail to recognize the animal. It was a new discovery when the surveyors first brought out the figures of these animals by their plats. The emblematic mounds may have existed upon the soil for hundreds of years before they were visited by white men at all; but after the white man came into the region where they are it was a hundred and fifty years before they discovered that they were in the shape of animals. Marquette, Allouez, Joliet, and other missionaries passed through Wisconsin as early as 1680. They visited the Indian villages at Green Bay and on the Fox River and made a record of the people who dwelt in those villages. They saw the corn fields around the villages and were interested in watching the Indians as they gathered rice in the swamps not far from the villages, but they did not notice the mounds that were in the neighborhood. At that time wild animals were unfamiliar to them, and as they described them, they could only compare them to others in Europe. We learn from their letters that the buffalo was then roaming over the prairies of Illinois as far east as Lake Michigan. Hennepin traversed the shore of Lake Michigan and at certain places ascended the banks and shot antelopes amid the forests. His letters also convince us that these animals were common in Wisconsin at that time. Jonathan Carver in 1790 passed up the Fox river, down the Wisconsin, and visited the various Indian villages. He speaks of the mounds, but he imagined them to be fortifications. He also speaks of the corn-fields. These mounds and the remains of the corn-fields we have discovered, and so have been able to identify where the villages were. We have not dwelt upon the historical part of the subject but have confined ourselves to the effigies. The history of the discovery of the effigies we have considered important and so we make it the subject of an introduction.

The survey and exploration among the emblematic mounds may be said to have commenced as early as 1823 when Major Long passed across the northern part of the state of Illinois and the southwestern part of Wisconsin, on his way to the sources of the St. Peters river. Major Long made a map of his route and laid down on the map both the sites of the Indian villages through which he passed and the locality of the mounds which he discovered. His route was on the borders of the habitat of the effigy builders. He crossed the Fox river some thirty miles west of Chicago and twenty miles south of the state line where was a group of thirty mounds. He then struck the Rock river near the mouth of the Kishwaukee, near the Winnebago villages which were situated there, and discovered groups of mounds on the banks of both rivers. He passed over the prairies and entered Wisconsin somewhere near the valley of the Pecatonica and struck the Wisconsin river a little east of Prairie du Chien. The first published notice of the mounds on the Wisconsin is in the narrative of Long's second expedition. They found the bluff which borders on the Wisconsin covered with

mounds, parapets, etc., but no plan or system could be observed among them, neither could they trace any such thing as a regular enclosure. Among these works they saw "an embankment about 85 yards long, divided towards its middle by a sort of gateway about four yards wide. This parapet was elevated from three to four feet. It stood very near to the edge of the bluff as did almost all of the embankments which they saw. The mounds which the party observed were scattered without any apparent symmetry over the whole of the ridge of high land which borders upon the river. They were very numerous, and generally from six to eight feet high and from eight to twelve in diameter. In one case a number of them, amounting to twelve or fifteen were seen all ranged in one line, parallel to the edge of the bluff but at some distance from it."

Major Long gives the characteristics of the groups situated on the lower Wisconsin, but he did not discover the effigy shapes in the mounds. This discovery remained for those who were afterwards engaged in the work of surveying. It was in 1832 during the survey of the mineral lands, that the shape of effigies in the mounds came into notice. The persons who called attention to them were Mr. Richard Taylor and Mr. John Locke, who were then engaged on the Survey. Mr. Taylor wrote to the *American Journal of Science* in 1838 and Mr. John Locke made the report to the government and his report was published in the Congressional documents for the year 1840. There were mounds on the Wisconsin river which Mr. Stephen Taylor, then a resident of the state, surveyed and described and his descriptions were published in the *Journal of Science* for 1843. These were interesting effigies; they represented moose, bear, foxes, deer, frog, eagle, hawks, horned owl, man mound, mound in the shape of a woman, otter, panther, and a composite mound containing the shape of a bird, the horns of a deer, and the body of a wild cat, some of them situated on the north side of the river on the bluffs, and some of them on the south side on the bottom lands not far from the old village called Muscoda.

The effigies which were described by these gentlemen were mainly in the south-west part of the state, in the neighborhood of the Mineral lands, but did not embrace more than one-tenth of the whole number. The groups described were near the old trail which led from Madison and the Four Lake region to the Mississippi, and were mainly situated on the high ridge which constitutes the water-shed between the Wisconsin river to the north and the branches of the Rock river which flowed to the south. The groups were quite interesting and contained effigies of bears, foxes, buffalo, and the human form.

When Squier & Davis were preparing their book on the Ancient Monuments which the Smithsonian Institution published as their first Contribution, they undertook to give a general view of the mounds and pre-historic earth works throughout the Mississippi valley. They gave three chapters to the Emblematic mounds and illustrated them by several plates. They drew

from the descriptions and reports of the gentlemen before named but abridged the accounts very considerably. Messrs. Squier & Davis also gave a description of the ancient city of Aztalan. This celebrated work was discovered by S. H. Bradley and the surveying parties who ran out the township lines, but no special note had been made of it. In the year 1837 Mr. N. C. Hyer visited the place and wrote an interesting description of it for an eastern paper, the *Greenwich Eagle*, New York. The account was copied by the *Milwaukee Advertiser* and made quite a sensation. It is owing to Dr. I. A. Lapham's perseverance and energy that the effigy mounds of Wisconsin were surveyed and plotted before they were destroyed. He visited nearly all the groups that were then known in the state. He secured descriptions from parties who were practical surveyors, and who resided in different parts of the State; among them Mr. W. M. Canfield of Baraboo, Mr. L. L. Sweet and Prof. S. T. Lathrop of Beloit College. Mr. Canfield furnished descriptions of those near the Wisconsin river. Mr. Sweet furnished an account of those on the Milwaukee river, and Professor Lathrop those near Beloit on the Rock river. Mr. Lapham's work was conducted under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.; but his work was published by the Smithsonian in the fourth Contribution. This is the best work which has ever been published, as the mounds which were then in an excellent state of preservation were accurately surveyed. His survey extended as far west as the Mississippi river and took in many of the groups situated on the river both north and south of the Wisconsin. It extended also as far north as Lake Winnebago and the Fox river, and embraced many of the groups situated in the valley of that stream. The most thorough exploration was, however, in the neighborhood of Milwaukee, and the lake-shore, and the valley of the Fox river in the south, including the groups at Waukesha and Big Bend. The groups at Mayville and Horicon were fortunately accurately surveyed and described at that time, for they have been nearly all destroyed since. Mr. Lapham did not undertake to explain the use of the mounds or even to show their connection with the totem system which is so common and so important a factor in native society. In this respect Mr. R. C. Taylor was quite as forward in furnishing suggestions as Dr. Lapham. He says that "they were burial places intended to designate the cemeteries of the respective tribes or families. The tribe or clan possessing as its characteristic totem or emblem the bear, constructed a burial place in the form of that animal; the clans having the panther, eagle, or other animal as their totem conformed to the same practice." Mr. Taylor says "the mounds are almost invariably contiguous to Indian paths, but there is no evidence to show that existing tribes ever erected such monuments." This interpretation by Mr. R. C. Taylor is worthy of notice. Major Long and Jonathan Carver, who visited the Indian villages on the Wisconsin and Mississippi, knew nothing about the totem system. They saw the mounds but applied their own knowledge of military works

to them and interpreted them from a military stand point. Neither of these gentlemen recognized the animal shape of these earth-works. It is due to the surveyors mentioned above to say that by their system of measuring and plotting small pieces of ground they were enabled to identify the figures and prove them to be in the shape of animals. There is no mistake about the figures. Mr. Lapham did not always ascribe the right animal figures to the effigies as he frequently called panthers lizards and birds crosses; but in the main was remarkably sagacious in determining the animal intended. There was nothing visionary about Dr. Lapham's book.

Next to this, however, a work appeared in the year 1858 which was extremely visionary. It was the book called "Traditions of Decoodah and Antiquarian Researches" by William Pidgeon. It purported to be a description of mounds and earth-works which the author had discovered, the explanation of which was given to him by the last prophet of the Elk nation, called Decoodah. This book has been quoted extensively by writers upon archaeology, and the cuts have been used as correctly representing the groups of mounds and effigies. The localities in which Mr. Pidgeon stated there were extensive groups of emblematic mounds have, however, been visited by various gentlemen who are in the field, but so far, not a single group has been identified and it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of them will be. Mr. T. H. Lewis and the author of this book have sought for these groups but have failed to find them. There are so many marvellous things about the book, and such a misty shadowy way of describing the mounds that many have doubted whether any of the descriptions could be relied upon, for they are so vague and uncertain. We consider the work as of no value to science.

The next to follow Mr. Pidgeon was Mr. Jared Warner. He discovered the so-called elephant effigy, and furnished a description of it to the Smithsonian Institution, and it was published in the Report for 1872. The mound was platted by a practical surveyor, Mr. J. C. Scott, assisted by Alexander Paul, J. C. Orr, and Mr. Warner. We do not doubt the accuracy of this survey and consider the description as a valuable one. The only question is whether the party did not mistake a slight ridge caused by the wash of the water, for the proboscis of the animal. The effigy, if drawn with this ridge left off, would represent the buffalo as well as the elephant.

This local survey was followed by a more general one by Mr. Moses Strong. Mr. Strong was connected with the Geological survey and had good opportunity of studying the effigies, especially those in the south-west part of the state. He discovered a number of new groups, situated in Grant county. His papers were published in the Smithsonian report for 1875 and '77. In this same year Dr. J. N. De Hart surveyed mounds and effigies on the Asylum grounds on the north side of Lake Mendota and his paper was published in the Smithsonian report for 1877. In the year 1879 Mr. Thomas Armstrong, of Ripon, Wis., furnished descriptions of the

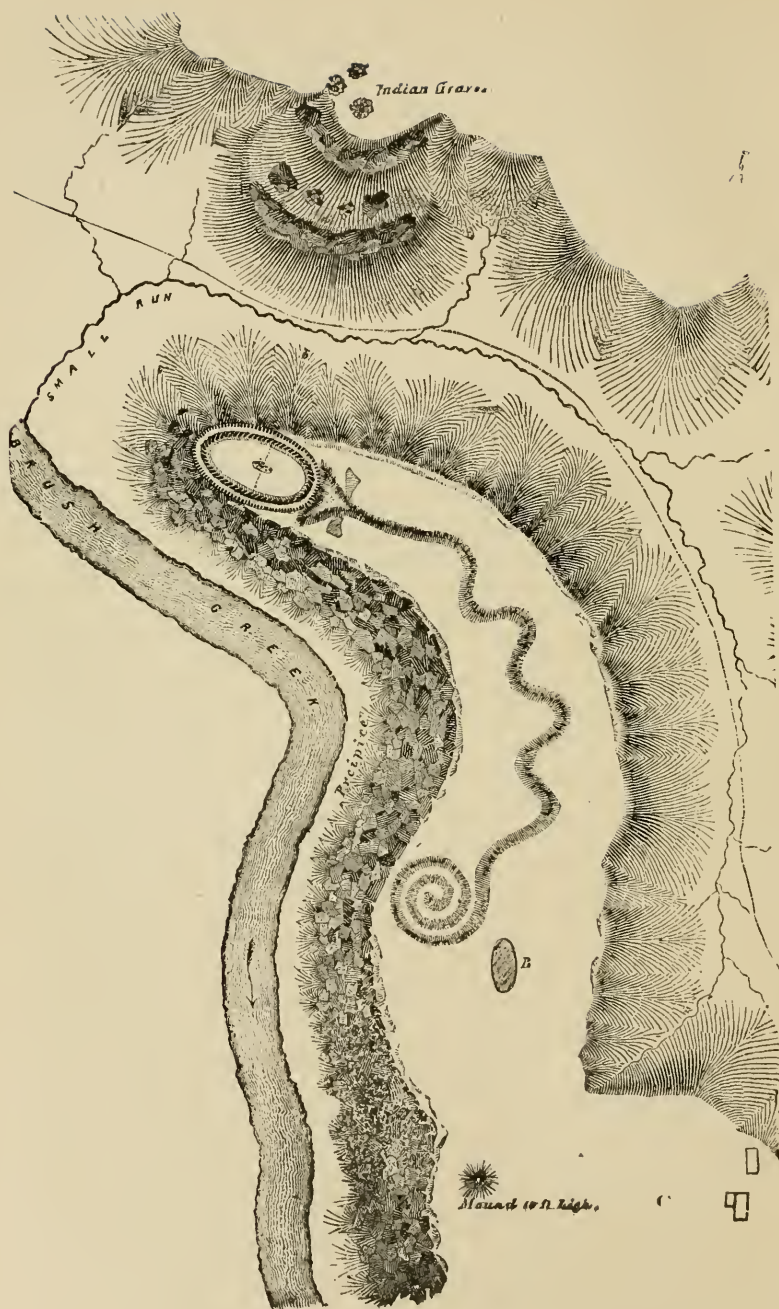
mounds on Rush Lake and those at Green Lake, but did not particularly identify the animals which were represented by the effigies. Mr. W. G. Anderson, of Quincy, Illinois, also furnished descriptions of effigies of mounds on lake Mendota, one in the shape of a bear, another in the shape of a snake with four curves noticeable. His account was published in the same Report. Mr. T. H. Lewis has also been engaged at intervals for several years in exploring the effigies on either side of the Mississippi River, from the mouth of the Wisconsin northward. He has made some interesting discoveries and has extended the habitat of the effigy builders into eastern Iowa, and southern Minnesota. His papers were published by *Science*. The Ethnological Bureau has also, through its assistants, done some surveying among the effigy mounds, mainly in Crawford county. Mr. Norris formerly superintendent of the Yellowstone Park, spent one season in surveying the effigies in Grant and Crawford counties. He was followed by Mr. J. S. Middleton and Mr. Emmett, who were under the direction of Dr. Cyrus Thomas. The writer was privileged to accompany these last named gentlemen in a tour of examination and review of the work done and was able to identify some interesting effigies and to assign the use or object of several of the groups. Among them were several game drives which were situated on the dividing ridge between the Kickapoo and the Mississippi. In these game drives the swallow, which is the clan emblem of the region, was accompanied by effigies of a buffalo in one case, of two bears in another, along with a series of parallel walls or long mounds. The situation was such as to give the idea that they were in the run-ways of these animals, and the conclusion reached was that these groups marked the place where these animals were hunted. In 1882 Prof. F. W. Putnam, and J. C. Kimball, accompanied by the writer took a trip to La Crosse and from La Crosse to Baraboo. The trip resulted in the discovery of several new groups of effigies. Prof. Putnam found an effigy in the Public park in La Crosse and explored it. Mr. J. C. Kimball learned of a number of effigies at Trempeleau, north of La Crosse. The writer discovered a group of round mounds four miles south of Sparta, a large group of round mounds three miles north of New Lisbon, and a very interesting group of effigies within one-half mile of the depot at New Lisbon. The party came together again and visited a group at the Dells of the Wisconsin, and two other groups near the village of Baraboo. Prof. Putnam on the same trip also visited several of the groups at Madison and secured the survey of a group before unknown, situated near the stone quarry two miles west of the city. The writer was assisted in his survey of the mounds at New Lisbon by Rev. A. A. Young, a brother of Prof. Young, the astronomer. Mr. Young has taken much interest in the mounds and has furnished the author a complete list of those situated in the neighborhood of New Lisbon, and is still exploring among the mounds of Wisconsin. Prof. Putnam read a paper on the effigies which he saw, before the Natural History Society of Boston, but published a similar paper in the Annual Report of the Peabody Museum.

Thus we have given a description of the various surveys and explorations among the emblematic mounds; commencing with the year 1832, which was the date of the Black Hawk war, and ending with the year 1888, the date of the completion of this book, and have mentioned the names of all the surveyors. There are several other gentlemen whose names have not been mentioned, who have done something in the way of exploration among the effigies; among them Mr. Pizarro Cook who lives on the Kickapoo river, also Mr. A. H. Porter.

The explorations of the writer commenced in the year 1880 and were continued at intervals until the year 1888. They covered all parts of the state; they reached as far south as Rockford, Ill., and as far north as Ashland, Lake Superior; they extended into Iowa and Minnesota on the west and reached the banks of Lake Michigan on the east. Nearly all the groups described by previous authors such as Mr. R. C. Taylor, S. Taylor, Professor Locke, Dr. Lapham, Mr. Moses Strong, Dr. J. N. De Hart, Mr. Armstrong, Prof. Putnam and the assistants of the Ethnological Bureau, were visited by the writer and carefully examined. Besides these many groups which had never been described before, were visited and surveyed. Discoveries of new groups were made, some of them of a very interesting character. These groups were situated in various parts of the state, some of them in the south-west part on both sides of the Wisconsin, in Grant, Crawford, LaFayette, and Richland counties; others in the central-west, in Juneau, LaCrosse, Adams, and Monroe; others in the valley of the Fox river in Marquette, Green Lake, and Fond du Lac counties; still others in Washington and Dodge Counties. The most interesting discoveries were, however, made at Beloit and Lake Koshkonong in Rock county, and on the banks of the Four Lakes near Madison in Dane county, and on the banks of Green Lake and Lake Puckaway in Green Lake county. In going into the region which had been explored by Dr. Lapham and others, the writer was not only able to identify the groups described but to discover many interesting groups which had been overlooked. This may be the case with those who may follow in the authors steps after this book shall have awakened interest enough for such persons to enter into the work of exploration, for the author does not claim that he has by any means discovered all the effigies. It is not an easy thing to search out unknown groups of effigies, especially when there is so much ignorance concerning them as exists at the present time. It has been a common experience for the author of this book to go on to the farm where he knew there were effigies, and to find the owner ignorant of their existence, and at times even slow to understand what was meant by mounds, especially effigy mounds. This was the case more especially with the Germans who were quite sure to call a mound a mountain. The writer has spent many delightful hours exploring effigies and mainly gives the results of his observation and experience. Long residence in the state had secured acquaintance with citizens and familiarity with most of the

localities. This of course was an advantage which would not be enjoyed by everyone; still there is a charm about the effigies which can not fail to interest any one who enters upon the study of them. Their situation on the banks of the beautiful lakes, of itself makes them attractive. The beauty of the scenery pleases the eye, the lovely climate invigorates the system and the hospitality of the people furnishes physical comfort and the study of the effigies gives exercise to all the mental faculties. One will find his whole nature aroused by such a pursuit. As he hastens from effigy to effigy, he is charmed with each particular figure and becomes more fascinated as he continues. The animals have disappeared but the effigies of them are present. One finds himself living in the midst of wild animals and can easily imagine how the country was filled with them before civilization drove them off. They are reminders of a race that has passed away—the records of a pre-historic age. The preservation of the monuments is exceedingly desirable. Future generations will be thankful to the present if these mounds can be left intact. The time will come when visitors and pleasure seekers will be more curious about the mounds which represent the animals, than they are about the animals themselves. Hunters and sportsmen frequent these lakes for the purpose of shooting wild-fowl which are still found in the waters, but the birds and animals which were formerly here have passed away and become extinct. It will be a pleasure to the visitors in the future to recognize the forms of these creatures and to find themselves in the midst of their haunts. An extinct race as well as extinct animals are brought before us by these pictures. The history is carried back by them so that we reach not only the prehistoric times, but we become familiar with the natural scenes which prevailed even before man appeared upon the scene. They are like the fossils which are preserved in the rocks. A volume of Natural History is contained in them. We make our appeal to the public for the preservation of these interesting monuments of the past.

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THE SERPENT EFFIGY IN ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO.

EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

CHAPTER I.

ANIMAL EFFIGIES AND THEIR LOCATIONS.

*A paper read before the American Association for the advancement of Science, at
Minneapolis, August 22, 1883.*

The Emblematic Mounds of Wisconsin have long engaged attention but are not yet fully understood. So many have looked upon them as mere objects of curiosity without giving any close study to them that an amazing amount of ignorance concerning them prevails among the residents in the very state where they are found.

It has even been doubted by some whether there were any such works as have been described under the name of effigy or emblematic mounds. The mounds exist in great numbers in the state, and in many places form conspicuous objects in the landscape. They abound especially on the borders of the many beautiful lakes of Wisconsin, and therefore may be seen and studied by citizens and visitors from a distance. They should be regarded as adding to the attractions of these places of resort, and be classified with other curious and interesting monuments of the world. At present they fail to secure attention, or if noticed are regarded as without significance and hardly worthy of a second thought. One reason for this is, that an opinion has arisen that the significance of these effigies cannot be ascertained; that an inscrutable mystery hangs over these silent monuments, and that nothing can be ascertained concerning them or their builders. This opinion has been strengthened by persons from whom different things would be expected. Intelligent writers and historians have maintained that there could be no solution of the problem, no breaking of the spell which holds them, and that it is folly to undertake to interpret the meaning of the emblems or to give any significance to the effigies. This position seems strange, especially where maintained by those who are in the habit of investigating closely and of grappling with hard problems. It has the effect, however, to strengthen the popular prejudice and to hinder investigation. The author has had opportunity for many years of studying these works, and has

become so familiar with them as to know many things about them which are unknown to others, and therefore writes confidently concerning them.

The object of the present essay is not to maintain any theory concerning the object or the use of the mounds, or the significance of the effigies, but merely to portray and to describe the distinctive points. In the essays already published the situation of these mounds has been described, and certain peculiarities of them mentioned. They are, for the most part, situated on high points of land, where extensive outlooks are gained, and are often found in groups clustered close together. These circumstances have led the author to the opinion that some of them might have been used for burial places, the effigies representing the tribal totems or the private totems of the chiefs and prominent persons found in the mounds. The names of the persons buried might not be given in words, but could be given in a picture. Thus the mounds or the effigies of the mounds should be considered a kind of picture writing or hieroglyphics corresponding among these primitive races to the hieroglyphics inscribed on the monuments of the more cultivated races of the east. The private totems would in that case be the more primitive form of hieroglyphs, and these mounds be said to contain in their shapes this, the most primitive form of picture-writing. It is certainly true that the tribal totems were significant of names, the system of clans or gentes being shown by these totems and the names of the gentes expressed in them. It is possible that the same system prevailed among the Emblematic Mound-builders, and that instead of being portrayed on the tents, the totems were built into the soil and made expressive of the names of the clans or gentes resident in the different places. The author has also maintained that some of the mounds were designed for military defenses, and that they were erected on prominent places so that they might serve as signal stations or outlooks.

The opinion has also been expressed by the writer that certain groups of emblematic mounds were used for game-drives. Some of the mounds in these groups, especially the long tapering mounds which are often seen situated parallel to one another, were constructed as screens, behind which hunters might hide and where they might shoot into the game as it was driven through.

Still another object or use has been ascribed by the author, to the emblematic mounds. Certain mounds have been discovered situated around open places where every appearance indicated that there were ancient villages situated in them. It is believed that the mounds were constructed around the villages so as to form a sort of defense to them, the effigies serving a double purpose, making an imperfect wall and at the same time acting as a sort of protection or charm to the village, very much as the

totem posts found upon the northwest coast serve as a protection to the houses and villages there.

Leaving these points we proceed to a description of the emblematic mounds, taking as the especial object of study the animal effigies in their different shapes and attitudes. The present paper will be confined to one class. Future papers may describe other classes. The object set before us is to describe that class of effigies which represents land animals, especially the grazing animals, their shapes and attitudes and other peculiarities as four footed creatures. It has been found that the variety of attitudes expressed by the effigies is so great that only one class of animals can be considered, if these attitudes are to be given at all in detail or described with any satisfaction.

It is a singular fact that the Mound-builders divided the animals according to a strictly scientific system. We do not maintain that they understood science or were acquainted with the genera or species. It has been disputed whether the primitive mind was capable of these generic distinctions. Yet the fact that these divisions of the animal kingdom are strictly adhered to in the representations of the animals, shows that the Mound-builders were acquainted with them. They were true naturalists; they understood the habits of the animals, could delineate their peculiarities of forms, and knew the difference between the different species even better than we do. They were artists, also, but they were artists who were true to nature, for they understood and could delineate not only the attitudes and shapes of the animals, but they understood the significance of each attitude and could present in the effigies the very disposition or intent which the animals would express in the different attitudes. It seems sometimes marvelous that these people should so delineate the different class of animals and portray the individual species, and then give to each kind of animal so many different attitudes. Their way of delineating the shapes and attitudes was also singular. They depicted them as they saw them, and represented them, not as lying upon the ground, but standing or moving. The mounds are erected above the surface and the effigy is horizontal, the eye looking down upon it, but the animals are represented in the life-like attitudes. What is singular about them is that the different classes or orders of animals are represented in different ways; the land animals in one way, the water animals in another, and the birds in still another, showing that the builders had an acquaintance with these different classes. This method of representation is so uniform as to convince one that it was intended. By their shapes the different classes of animals may be ascertained or recognized, and by the attitudes the different dispositions of the animal can be learned and their hidden significance also apprehended.

In the former paper prepared on the animal mounds, the au-

thor divided the effigies into four classes, namely quadrupeds, birds, fishes and inanimate objects. Further study of the effigies, however, has revealed the fact that the mound builders divided the animals more correctly than this; they divided them according to their habits, as follows: Land animals, amphibious creatures, birds and fishes. They had a very singular way of designating these classes by the effigies. The study of the effigies has led therefore to the following classification; a classification in which the various orders of animals are made to correspond with the shapes of the mounds, the habits and character of the animals being portrayed by the effigies, the representations being so uniform as to give rise to the idea that the classification of the animals was intended.

I. *Land animals.* These are quadrupeds, but they are always represented in profile, two legs only being visible with the other parts of the body brought into relief by the mound. The attitudes are expressed by the different shapes of the mounds, but the profile view is distinctive of the class.

II. *The amphibious animals.* These are represented as sprawling or as seen from above, with four legs visible, the shape of the back and different parts of the creature also brought into relief, but the legs always on two sides of the effigy.

III. *Birds or creatures of the air.* These are represented in different ways, with their wings sometimes extended and sometimes folded, but always visible and made distinctive of the class. The attitudes of the birds are varied, and are always expressive.

IV. *Fishes and water animals,* Represented without legs or wings, and with fins very rarely visible, but the body, head and tail brought into relief, and the attitudes of the creatures depicted by the various shapes of the mounds.

V. *Inanimate objects.* The author is not sure whether these mounds furnish any conventional forms or whether any significance should be ascribed to the effigies of this class, but would refer the reader to the article published by the Wisconsin State Historical Society for a view of the variety of objects embraced under this class.

It is remarkable that the habits of the animal should be shown by the effigies, but such is the case. The land animals are all of them represented in such a way that there need be no mistaking them. The different kinds of land animals are also given, such as the grazing, the fur-bearing and the beasts of prey. Each class is distinguished in a different way, but all of them are marked by the same peculiarity of being in profile. The amphibious creatures are also represented in all their variety, and the distinction between them and the land animals is plainly given.

The birds or animals which inhabit the air are represented in

such shapes as to be easily distinguished, and there is no difficulty in placing all the specimens under the third class.

The water animals, such as fish, craw-fish, tad-poles, etc., are represented without legs, wings or fins, and so can be easily classified under the fourth head, their shapes being always distinctive. The inanimate objects, such as badges, weapons, symbols, etc., unless studied closely, might be mistaken for animals or birds, and have been so mistaken by authors who have treated upon the subject, but after all may be easily distinguished if we will only notice the distinctive points.*

We propose to give under these different heads the different varieties of creatures, which are portrayed by the effigies making subdivisions under the different classes. In this paper we shall consider only the first class, namely, the land animals. They may be separated into several subdivisions and made to represent the animals according to their habits and other characteristics, as follows: (1.) Animals with horns, including all the grazing animals, such as the buffalo, moose, elk, deer, etc. (2.) Animals with tails, including the fur bearing land animals, such as the fox, wolf, squirrel, panther, and excluding the amphibious fur bearing animals, such as the otter, the beaver, the muskrat and other creatures of the kind. (3.) Animals represented as without horns and without tails. These animals are mainly beasts of prey, such as the wildcat, the lynx, though at times the rabbit and prairie dog and other creatures of the kind may be represented.

A great variety of the effigies of the land animals are found. This variety is owing not only to the different animals which are represented, but to the attitudes of the animals as well as to their shapes. Dividing them then according to the shapes and attitudes we find several classes.

1. Four-footed animals, with horns, their horns being represented by projections above the head. Fig. 1 represents an effigy of his class. It is presumably a moose. The mound which has this shape, is situated near the village of Muscoda, on the Wisconsin river. It was first discovered by Mr. S. Taylor. He says: "Throughout this region embankments of this form are

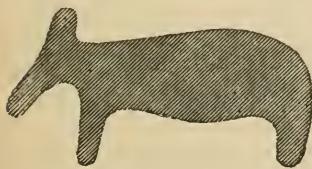


Fig. 1. Moose, near Muscoda, TAYLOR. very numerous. Some have two parallel projections from the back of the head. In the present they seem to be so blended as to represent but one. It is very perfect in outline, 79 feet long and 24 broad."

Another effigy of a horned animal is given in Fig. 2. It is

* See Lapham's Antiquities, also article in the State Historical Report, Vol. IX.

evidently a moose. The moose is in the attitude of grazing. The animals are represented in attitudes which correspond to

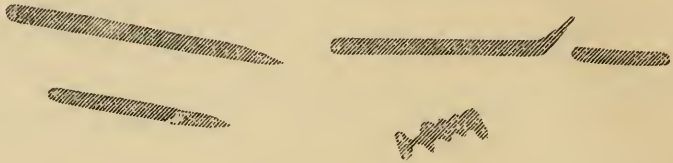


Fig. 2. A Moose grazing. I. A. LAPHAM.

their habits. Horned animals are, as a general thing grazing in their habits. The moose is thus represented. The long, straight mounds adjoining probably represent a game-drive and the effigy may have been intended to represent the kind of game for which the drive was erected.

This group of mounds is situated on Honey Creek. It is described by Dr. Lapham in his *Antiquities*, but was plotted and surveyed by Mr. Canfield, of Baraboo.*

There are many other horned animals represented in effigy, the *Buffalo* being the most common. One such effigy was once visited by the author in company with several others near Beloit. This effigy is also situated near what the author considers to have been a game-drive. The outlines of the animal are very distinct and the effigy is a striking one. Mounds representing the buffalo have been described by Dr. I. A. Lapham, by Moses Strong and several others. Mr. Strong represents a row of buffaloes as in procession, following one another around the edge of a high bluff. He says: "From their appearance on the ground, no resemblance to any particular animal could be detected," but from the diagram given one could easily recognize the animal. Another group is also described by Dr. Lapham, and the effigies in the group are portrayed. Several of the figures in this are evidently the effigies of buffaloes. The location of these mounds is near the mouth of the Wisconsin River, on land adjoining the residence of Hon. Robt. Glen.

The buffalo so nearly resembles the elk and moose that it is difficult to distinguish it, but generally the attitude and the general shape will be so given by the effigy as to show what animal was intended. It is remarkable that effigies of buffaloes, moose and elk are more frequently associated with game-drives than any other animal.

* See Lapham's *Antiquities*, Page 70; also Plate 47.

The *Elk* is also represented in effigy. Two such effigies are described by Dr. Lapham in Plate 43, which represents a large group of mounds near Honey Creek, on section 18, township line range 6, east. The effigies in this case are also associated with a number of long mounds, which may have been intended to represent a game-drive. The group was situated near the residence of Mr. Mosely, close by the mouth of Honey Creek. These effigies are now nearly obliterated. Several effigies representing horned animals are also described by Dr. Lapham as situated near the Kickapoo river, section 6, town 8, range 5, west. A cut of these effigies is given herewith, and we leave it for the reader to decide whether they represent the buffalo or the elk. (See Fig. 3.)

The *Deer* is another animal which has been represented in effigy; but in a great variety of attitudes. A deer may be seen on the ground near the insane asylum at Madison. It has been engraved, and a wood cut is herewith presented (Fig. 4.) The engraving is, however, defective. There is in the mound no such division in the legs or horns. The effigy is also much smaller than would be gathered from the figures. It is in fact smaller than that of an eagle near by it. We however furnish the cut to show how much need there is of care in engraving the effigies. This representation was made by Dr. Wm. DeHart. We doubt, however, whether any effigy intended to represent a deer ever had the horns separate as this has. A cut is furnished which more truthfully represents the shape of the mound if it does not the shape of the animal (Fig. 5). It was first represented by Mr. S.



Fig. 3. Buffalo on Kickapoo River

Taylor. He says: "It seems to have been intended to represent some fleet animal. It is about 100 feet in length, 18 feet in height.* This also was situated near Muscoda, in Grant county.

The effigy of a deer has been discovered by the writer, near Muscoda, on the Wisconsin river. It is one of a large group of

mounds which has never been described. The deer was in a very striking attitude. Its head was erect with the neck curved back. Its legs were drawn up and the whole attitude expressed alarm. It was situated among a series of long parallel mounds which may have been intended as a game drive. The group is worthy of further study. Another figure resembling the antelope was found by Dr. Lapham, near Horicon.

Associated with the last group is an animal which appears to have "a short tail and horns, and is probably designed to represent some kind of deer." Judging from the diagram the effigy was that of an antelope.

We give here several cuts which represent horned animals. They are not representations of effigy mounds, but rather of inscribed figures. They are taken from the series of inscriptions seen on the walls of the pictured cave at West Salem. They are given for the sake of comparison. It will be noticed that in the picture cave the inscriptions are drawn with the outlines of the animals only, and no relief such as the mounds give. They are, however, given with the separate divisions of the legs and horns, and even the branches of the horns. They are not as symmetrical and do not represent the attitudes of the animal as well as the mounds do. It is more difficult to recognize the animal intended than it is by the effigy mounds. The animals are represented with legs at one side the same as they are in the mounds, but there is no uniformity. In one case the hoofs are pictured and only two legs are visible, but the horns are separ-



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

* See Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. I, Plate XLIII, No. 6, Page 130.

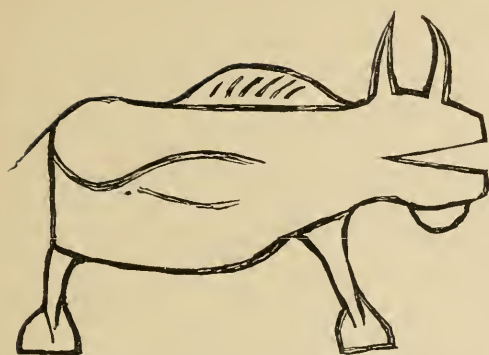


Fig. 6. Inscription of a Buffalo from Picture cave, West Salem

ate; the mouth is open and the heavy body is portrayed. The hump on the shoulder and the fold below the jaw are also given as if all the prominent features were represented, and yet it is difficult to say whether it is a buffalo or moose, except as the horns indicate it.

The next figure represents an animal with two horns, the legs separate; no hoofs; the eye visible and a bushy tail and a slight hump above the shoulder. This also is so awkwardly given that we cannot identify it. It may have been a female buffalo, and judging from the horns we should say that it was.



Fig. 7. Inscription of Female Buffalo.

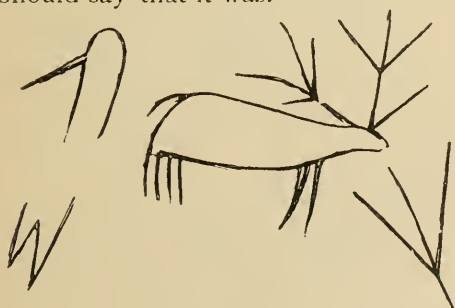


Fig. 8.

The next figure represents an animal with branching horns. The legs, however, are represented differently, fore legs with a single line, hind legs with a double. Judging from the branching horns, the small head and the large rump, we should say it was a deer, and yet the difference be-

tween the deer and the moose and the elk is given more plainly and distinctly by the effigy and the mounds than by the inscribed pictures.

2. Among the effigies which represent animals in profile we find a large class which appear with no projections above the head to represent horns, but with projections at one side to represent legs and with prominent projections behind to represent tails, making this part of the animal distinctive. This class represents a greater variety than any other. It is a very interesting class. The attitudes of the animals are very striking

and the shapes throughout very expressive. The effigies generally represent the fur-bearing animals and are true to life. It will be found by study that the fur-bearing animals have heavier tails than any other class. These effigies do not include all fur-bearing animals for there are a few animals of this class as the wild-cat, lynx and rabbit, which although fur-bearing, do not have tails. The tail is distinctive between the two classes.

The shapes of the effigies of this class, so skillfully imitate nature as to show great familiarity with the habits of the animals.

We begin this series with an effigy which is very numerous and very prominent, but concerning which there may be some difference in opinion as to what animal is signified. We designate it as the effigy of the

panther or mountain lion. We give a cut of this effigy copied from the figures described by Dr. Lapham. The group may be seen on the banks of Ripley Lake. Two of the animals appear as if they were in conflict, while the other has its head toward the bank overlooking the waters. A similar group was seen by the writer on the banks of Green Lake. The only difference was that the pair in conflict were here situated at right angles with the bank of the lake, and the passage way between them formed an entrance to a campus or open plat of ground around which were many other effigies. Another group, similar to this, may be seen on the bank of Turtle Creek, near Beloit, on land now crossed by the Mil. & St. Paul R. R. Here also the animals are in conflict, but they are arranged feet to feet, as panthers and all creatures of the cat-kind are likely to fight. A passage way between them also opens into a large group of effigies. Another effigy is found on the edge of this group, forming, as is the case at Ripley Lake, a third panther, but with the tail

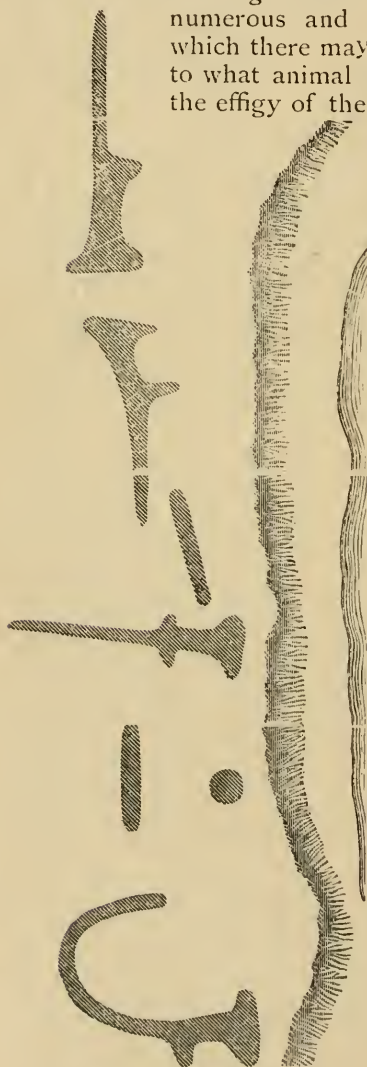


Fig. 9. Wolf or panther at Ripley Lake.

straight, and fronting the group, instead of being parallel to it, as here represented.

Another cut is given here to show what various attitudes and shapes this effigy assumes. (Fig. 10.) It is an effigy which has been called by Dr. Lapham a "battle axe," but was evidently intended to represent a mountain lion or panther or some such animal. It is situated on the banks of Lake Koshkonong in a group which surrounds a lofty conical mound, and a so-called altar mound. The conical mound was evidently used as a beacon or place for lighting fires, and the mound accompanying it may have been used as a sacrificial altar. The effigy corresponding to the panther on the opposite side is that of a catfish or bull pout. The attitudes of these two effigies are very expressive and will be noticed.

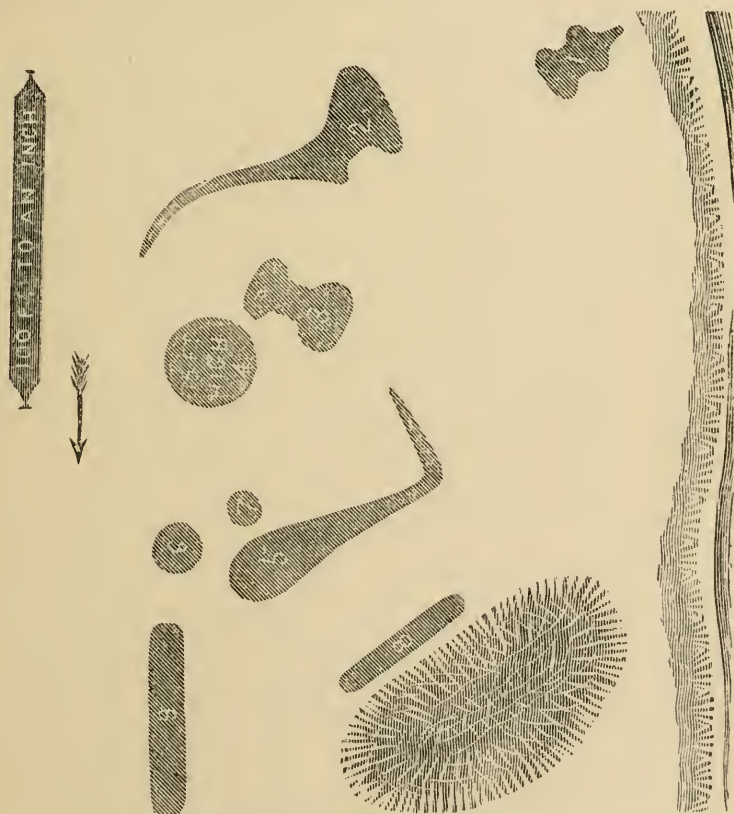


Fig. 10. Mountain Lion and Catfish at Lake Koshkonong

There are two of these panther mounds on the bank of Lake Monona, nearly opposite the capitol, about a mile south of the

city of Madison. They are situated in a prominent place overlooking the lake, but they differ from the pairs of panthers before described, in that the heads are turned inward and the feet outward, the animals apparently following one another instead of being in conflict. Another effigy of the same kind may be seen on the side of a ridge between Lake Wingra and Lake Monona, half a mile south of the depot. Two more have been seen and plotted by the writer on land adjoining to the south of Gov. Washburn's place, now the Catholic Asylum for the Sisters of Charity. One of these effigies is in a very striking attitude, the animal being represented as crouching. The legs are drawn up, the form stretched out, the head erect, and the whole effigy representing the animal (evidently a panther) as resting. We can almost see the tongue lolling and imagine how the animal looked while panting and basking in the sun.

The effigy is situated on the banks of a lake near a marsh, but stretched out on a gentle slope where the sun would fall unimpeded by any forest. Several other effigies of this kind have been seen by the writer on the summit of a hill near the cemetery, at Madison. A long line of straight oblong mounds interspersed with effigies of various kinds stretch from the cemetery southward. They are situated in a dense forest of wood with a great deal of undergrowth which renders them difficult of access, but they form a very interesting group of mounds. Another effigy of this kind was visited by the writer during the last summer (1883), in company with Rev. A. A. Young, near New Lisbon. This effigy represented the panther in a striking attitude, but very different from that found anywhere else. It is situated on the banks of a small stream near a group of other mounds, and near a place which has long been frequented by the Indians as a dance ground or place of festivity.

The animal is pictured as leaping along the edge of the stream towards the group of mounds. It seemed to the writer when examining the mounds at this locality, that a part of the group was intended as a trap for game and that the animal is represented as leaping toward the trap eager to secure his prey. Other effigies of the same kind have been seen on the edge of a swamp and near the site of an ancient village at Great Bend, on the Fox river. This is a very interesting group of mounds, the village being situated on a prominent tongue of land with various effigies surrounding, but one of the effigies a panther, standing and looking into or through an opening or guarded way into the very site of the village itself. The shape of this effigy is peculiar. The body is attenuated as if the animal was suffering from hunger, nearly starved, the legs large in proportion, the tail long and straight, the head erect, but the whole form as if in the attitude of waiting and watching.

A mound similar to this in some respects, differing from it in having a heavier body, at least not so lean, but resembling it in the attitude of watching, was seen on the opposite side of the stream or marsh, about a half a mile from the village site, and near a large cluster of caches. The caches were situated on the banks of the swamp, hidden away from observation in the midst of a forest, and close by them, apparently guarding them, was this panther effigy. This is not the only place where the panther is seen guarding the caches, for Dr. Lapham has described such an effigy as situated in the midst of an ancient cornfield near the city of Milwaukee. A large mound is immediately in front of the animal and the cache is in the mound. This effigy was formerly situated on a part of the city known as Sherman's addition. "It may be considered," Dr. Lapham says, "as a rude representation of a wolf, or a fox, guarding the sacred deposit in the large though low mound immediately before it. The body of the animal is 44 feet, the tail 63 feet in length." We can imagine the effigy to be that of a she-wolf.

* One of the most striking effigies of this class is represented by Dr. Lapham as situated five miles south of Burlington, on section 26, township 2, range 19. "It is a solitary mound, with a curved tail and large at the extremity. It is situated on a gently sloping hillside and the road passes directly over it. It is a very unusual circumstance to find such a mound," Dr. Lapham says, "disconnected from other works but we could not learn that any others existed in the vicinity."†

A very interesting group of mounds among which are several effigies of panthers may still be seen in a good state of preservation on land formerly belonging to Mr. Isaac Bailey, twelve miles north of Burlington, and three miles west of Great Bend. This is the place called Crawfordville by Dr. Lapham, though there is no village there and never was. The place was also mentioned by Mr. R. C. Taylor as one described by the papers as containing a group of mounds resembling lizards, alligators and flying dragons.

These effigies occupy ground near the Fox River, which slopes gently toward the river at the north, their heads pointing up hill toward the south or southwest, their bodies and tails being all parallel with one another. The group covers a surface nearly half a mile in length and is crowded thick with effigies of various kinds. One of the panther effigies in the group is described by Dr. Lapham under the name of a lizard, it is 286 feet in length, about 30 feet in width, and varies from two to six feet in height. The group has been visited by the writer, and Dr. Lapham's description proves to be correct with the excep-

* See Lapham's *Antiquities*, page 17, also Plate IV, Fig. I.

See Lapham's *Antiquities*, page 24, also Plate XIII, No. 1.

tion that two effigies are left out from the plate, one of them the effigy of a panther and the other of a turtle. Dr. Lapham has also described an effigy of this kind as situated near Waukesha on a height of ground a little east of the village. It was one of the best or most perfect effigies discovered by that author and is well represented on the plate, but no description of it is given. We have dwelt thus closely upon this effigy because it is a very important one.

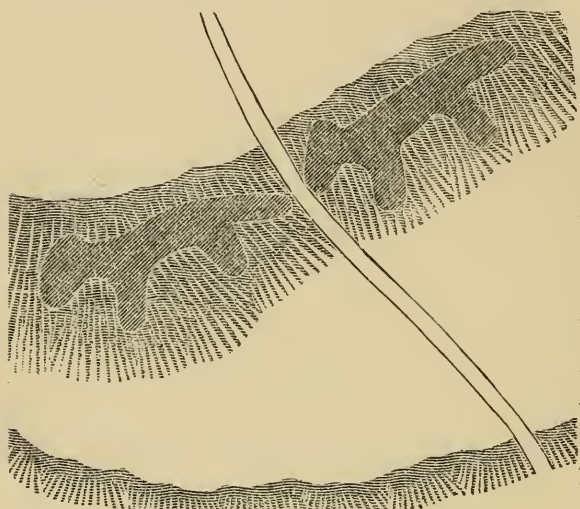


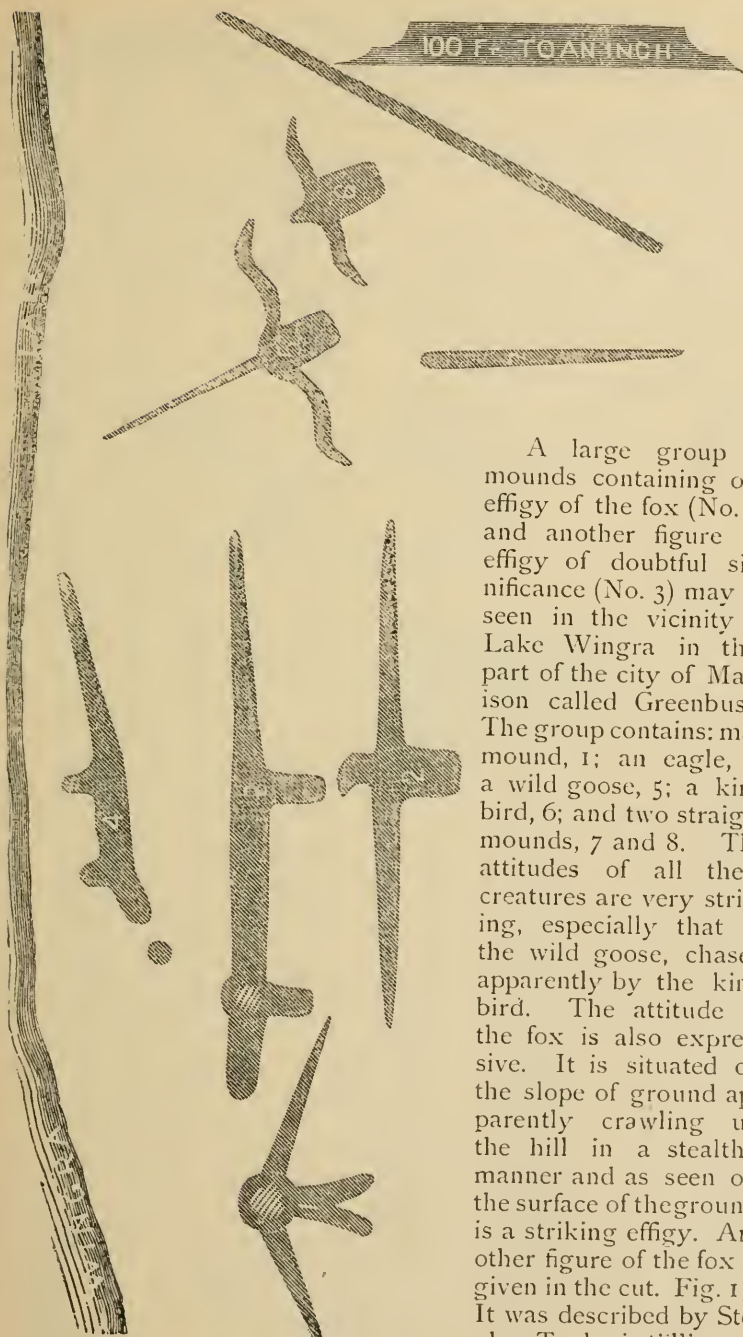
Fig. 11. Fox effigies ten miles west of Madison. R. C. TAYLOR.

There are other effigies which belong to this class besides those of the panther, and we now proceed to describe the effigy of the Fox.

We give a cut of two mounds which probably represent foxes. These mounds were surveyed by Mr. Taylor and Prof. Locke. They lie on the borders of a prairie in a wood-

land on the edge of a gentle slope. A short distance to the west of them is a natural swell of ground with a tumulus on the top of it overlooking it. An old Indian trail passes between them and the military road followed the same line. Mr. Taylor suggests that the figures were intended to represent the fox, but Prof. Locke remarks "that they have an expression of agility and fleetness and may have been intended to represent the congar or American tiger, an animal still existing in the region."

The fox is distinguished by its head. In this case, however, the figure has too large a head for the fox, and so we are uncertain whether it is a fox or a wolf which is represented. The wolf is generally exhibited by the effigies in a conventional shape, with the head straight out, as may be seen in Fig. 15, No. 20. There are, however, different kinds of wolves, and it is possible that this effigy in Fig. 11 was designed for one kind and that in Fig. 15 another. The fox is unmistakable in Fig. 14. We give Fig. 11 because these mounds are quite marked, and the effigy may have been intended for that of the fox.



A large group of mounds containing one effigy of the fox (No. 4) and another figure or effigy of doubtful significance (No. 3) may be seen in the vicinity of Lake Wingra in that part of the city of Madison called Greenbush. The group contains: man mound, 1; an eagle, 2; a wild goose, 5; a king bird, 6; and two straight mounds, 7 and 8. The attitudes of all these creatures are very striking, especially that of the wild goose, chased apparently by the king bird. The attitude of the fox is also expressive. It is situated on the slope of ground apparently crawling up the hill in a stealthy manner and as seen on the surface of the ground is a striking effigy. Another figure of the fox is given in the cut. Fig. 13. It was described by Stephen Taylor in Silliman's

Fig. 12. Mounds at Lake Wingra. S. D. PEET.

Journal. It was situated on the Wisconsin river. A series of mounds, fifteen in number, extend along an eminence three hundred yards and placed at intervals of about twenty five feet apart. It is the same in which the effigy of a woman was seen. The fox was at the end of the row.*



Fig. 13. Fox on Wisconsin River.
Sec. 35, T. 9 R. 1 W.

Several effigies resembling the fox are described by Dr. Lapham, as having been seen at Lake Horicon. Others are described by the same author as having existed at Mayville. These are represented in figure 14.



Fig. 14.

Another fox was also surveyed by Prof. Locke. It was situated about ten miles east

of the Blue Mounds, amid a group of other mounds of other kinds.

The Prairie wolf. The effigy which is most frequently represented in profile is one which is somewhat difficult to identify. We have named it the prairie wolf to distinguish it from the panther. It resembles the panther in many respects, but in no case is represented with the head erect as that animal is.

Two specimens of the wolf effigy may be seen in Fig. 15, Nos. 20-21. This group is situated not far from the group described in Fig. 8, on the same height of ground, near lake Koshkonong. The other figures are effigies of a turtle, No. 17, of birds, Nos. 22-23, of oblong mounds, Nos. 18-19-24-25, of a badge or some unknown object, No. 16, and of an enclosure, Nos. 26 and 28. There is a resemblance between this effigy No. 20, Fig. 15, and that given in No. 3, Fig. 10. The effigy here is not so large or straight, but resembles it in other respects. This group of mounds, with the enclosure, has already been described by the author.†

Another locality where the wolf effigy may be seen is at Horicon on the Rock River. This group has been described by Dr. Lapham. We quote his words.‡

"The mounds are situated on the high banks of the river on both sides. There are about two hundred ordinary round mounds in the neighborhood.

* * * * *

* See Squier and Davis Smithsonian Contributions Vol. I, pp. 130, Plate XLIII. No. 9. See Silliman's Journal, Plate 7, No. 4, 1883.

† See report of State Historical Society, Vol. 9.

‡ See Antiquities. Plate XXXVII; also page 55.

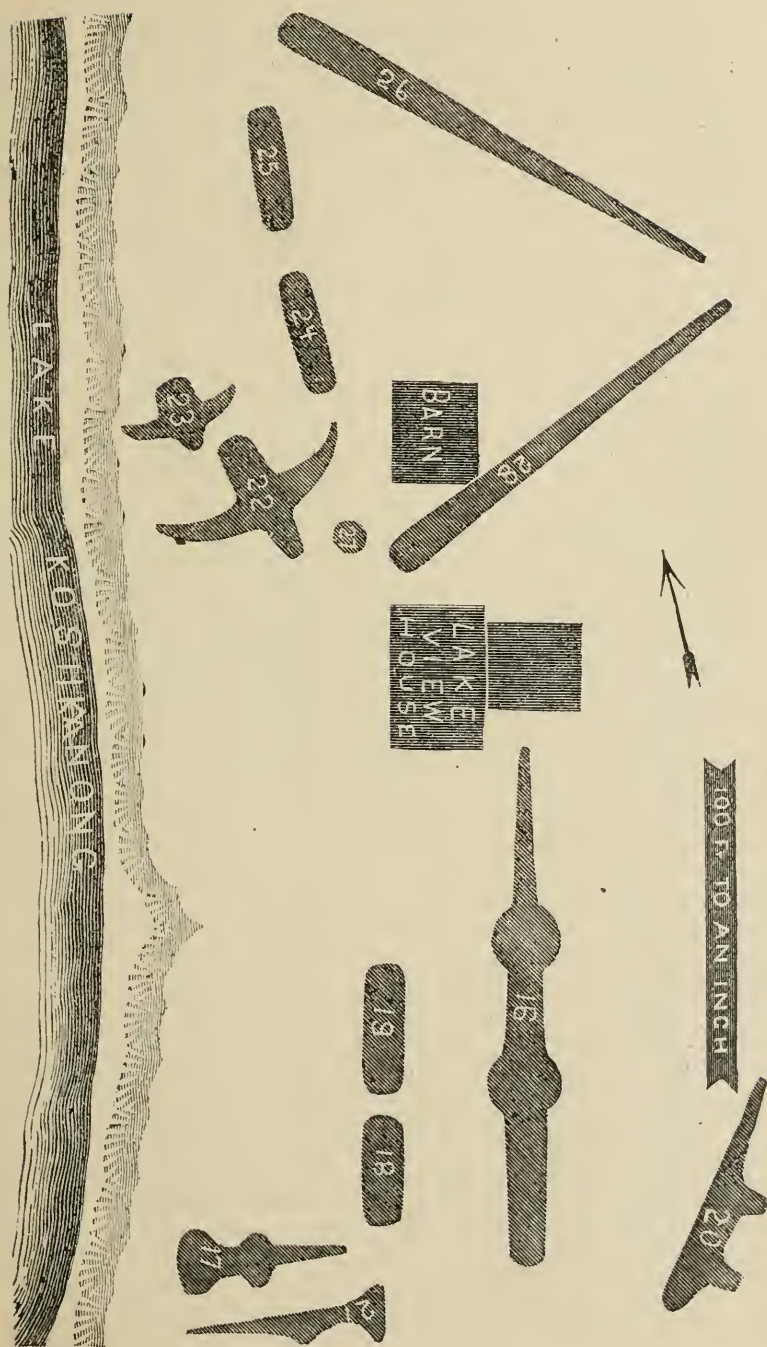


Fig. 15..

"There are sixteen mounds of the cruciform variety. They are not placed in any uniform direction, some having the head toward the north, some toward the south. There are two composite figures, one on each side of the river near the centre of the group. If these are animals performing the same action, it is difficult to decide what the animal or the action may be which was intended. Yet it can hardly be supposed that these works could be erected without design. 'The animal form No. 3,' (referring to the fox) is repeated with slight modifications seven times. It may be intended to represent the Otter. The celebrated Sauk chief, Black Hawk, formerly had his residence at this point."

Dr. Lapham seems to have mistaken the effigies calling the birds crosses and the foxes otters, but we quote his words as he plotted and described the two works. The locality is an interesting one, as the proximity to the lake made it a favorite resort to the natives through many generations.

It will be noticed that there are on the two cuts five or six of those bird-figures called crosses; that the figures called foxes may have been intended to represent the fox, the weasel, the otter and the mink, as each effigy is different from the other. The figure with the long, straight tail may have been intended to represent the squirrel, and the effigy of the wolf is on figure 16, at the upper part. We give the two cuts, however, to show the variety which may always be noticed in the effigies.

Other specimens of the wolf effigy may be seen in good preservation. Three of them are still visible on the college grounds at Waukesha. They have been described by Dr. Lapham, but have been recently visited by the author.* Several others were formerly visible at Milwaukee, but these have been destroyed by the growth of the city. Two in the first ward; five in the second ward; three more on the school section, not far from Milwaukee. Several effigies of the wolf were also visible near Sheboygan. Mayville is a locality where effigies of this kind were formerly prevalent.

The *Otter*, *Squirrel*, *Skunk*, *Weasel*, *Mink*, *Beaver*, *Raccoon*, *Woodchuck* are four-footed creatures, which are sometimes seen in effigy. They are not so numerous or so marked, but their peculiar shapes may be traced amid the other effigies and their peculiarities may be seen. All of them, however, have the distinguishing features which mark all the animals of this class, namely, a long tail attached to a small body, on which two legs only are visible, and they on one side of the body. They are distinguished from one another by the shape of the body. The position of the tail at times also indicates the animal intended. If

* See plates XVIII, XXI, Lapham's Antiquities.

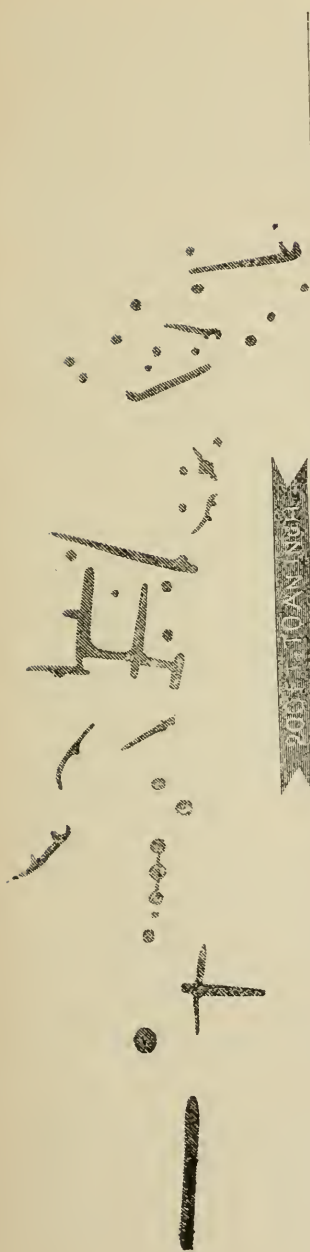


Fig. 16.

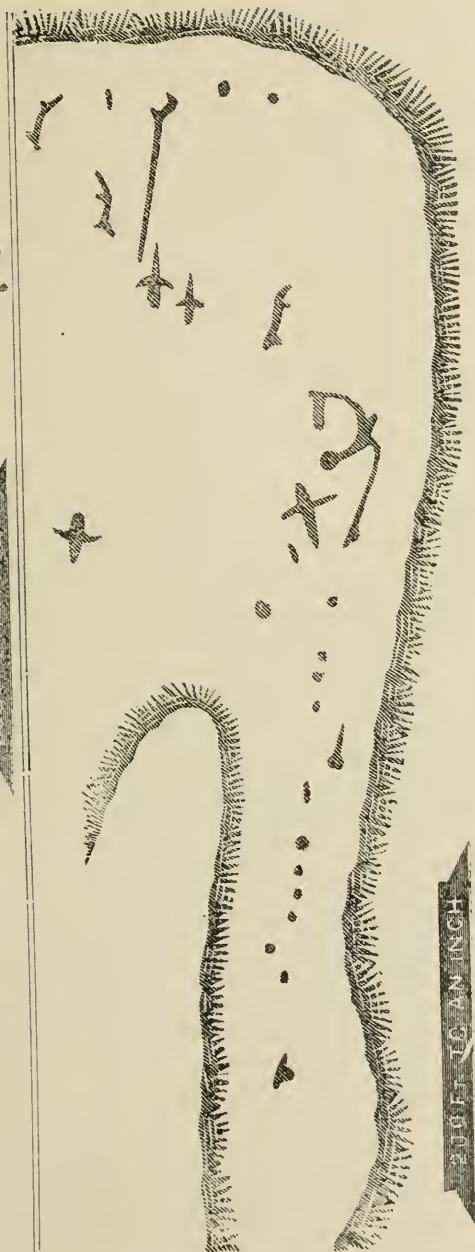


Fig. 17.

EFFIGIES OF VARIOUS ANIMALS AT HORICON.

one will examine the cuts last given he will see that some of the animals have the tail drooping, the body long and slim, and the head raised. This may be a fox, but the same figure, when the body is heavy, especially in the hind quarters, and the neck and head are small, would better represent the otter. Occasionally effigies are seen where the body is very long and slim, the head and neck slim, but raised, and the tail dragging. Such an effigy we take to be the weasel. Another effigy in this group may be taken for the raccoon or woodchuck, the shape of the effigies being marked by the round or rolling position of the body, without any head visible. Several such effigies may be seen in the foregoing cuts (Figs. 16-17). Differing from this is the effigy of the squirrel. It is marked by having the tail erect. A small cut is given which contains the figures of these three animals, the otter, coon and the squirrel (Fig. 18).



Fig. 18.

We call attention to the peculiarities of each one of these as they may help to distinguish the effigies, and enable us to identify the animals by the effigies. They have not been sufficiently studied by other parties so that their shapes indicate the animals intended. The writer, however, has traced them so often as to be able to distinguish them. The headless animals may be taken to either represent either woodchucks, coons or animals of this kind, and they are to be distinguished one from another by the body being straight or rounded, while the animals with long necks and small heads may be considered as otters, weasels, foxes and wolves, and these are to be distinguished from one another by the shape of the body, whether short or thick or long and slim. Two animals can be distinguished by the position of their tail. The squirrel generally has its tail raised. It is sometimes straight, sometimes crooked at the end again is seen lifted above the head. The skunk, on the contrary, has a short tail curled upward, a small head, and resembles the dog. The effigy might be taken for that of a dog.

With these remarks upon the distinguishing feature of the different animals we proceed to show where the different animals have been seen.

The Squirrel. Dr. Lapham has given the effigies of the squirrel in several positions as seen in different places. At Sheboygan two squirrels are depicted among a group of effigies among which the coon and woodchuck are also seen.*

A squirrel was seen by him near Jefferson associated with one of these headless animals, possibly a coon.† Another is described at Pike Lake.

* See plate 12, Lapham's Antiquities. These effigies Dr. Lapham calls lizards.

† See plate XXXVI, No. 4, Dr. Lapham's Antiquities.

One at Mayville. Two at a point near the Wisconsin River, Town 5, Section 10, Range 7 East.‡

Two squirrels may be seen on the cuts which are descriptive of the works at Lake Horicon, and one on the small cut descriptive of the works at Mayville.

A squirrel may be seen on the ground formerly belonging to Gov. Fairwell, adjoining the Insane Asylum, at Madison. It is a very striking effigy. The squirrel is represented as sitting erect on its haunches, with the tail curved back and above its head. The effigy of the squirrel is about 30 feet long, but the tail including all its curves is about 300 feet long.



Fig. 20.

The Otter. This is an effigy which is quite common. It was first discovered by S. Taylor, and is described by Squier and Davis.*

The situation of this particular effigy is near the Blue river in the Wisconsin valley. We give a cut of it. The length of the animal is 57 feet; length of head and neck about 30 feet; length of tail, 45



Fig. 21.

feet; width of body, 15 feet. Other effigies similar to this kind may be seen on the cuts descriptive of the work at Horicon. It is, however, sometimes difficult to distinguish this effigy from that of the fox, though Dr. Lapham, who has studied the mounds at this place, frequently mentions the otter, and says that this figure which appears so often among the mounds is probably the otter. We have called it the fox. The narrow neck and head, perhaps, should distinguish the otter from the fox, and so we grant Mr. Lapham's position.

The Weasel is another effigy often found among the emblematic mounds. The writer has seen one such effigy near Green Lake. The weasel appears to be springing upon a bird which is within a few feet of its mouth and which is fluttering to escape. Both animals are transfixed and appear very strange as they retain these striking attitudes. The mounds convey the idea as distinctly as

‡ See plate XLVIII, Lapham's Antiquities.

* See Smithsonian Contribution, Vol. I, Plate XLIV., No. 6.

if they were a picture. A specimen of the weasel was seen by the writer at Baraboo during the recent trip. The dimensions of the animal are as follows: Total length, 263 feet; head and neck, 30 feet long; the body, 100 feet long; tail, 133 feet long. The weasel may be recognized in the cuts of the works at Horicon.†

The Coon. This effigy is depicted by Dr. Lapham in several localities. The mounds described as situated near Milwaukee, may have been intended to represent wolves, but they lack the head, and so possibly might have represented coons instead. Several mounds at Lake Winnebago resemble coons as much as they do wolves. One mound in the group at Sheboygan was evidently intended to represent this animal. The writer has seen the effigy of a coon at Green Lake. This effigy, however, differs from any other which has been described. It represents the coon as just having lighted upon the ground from off a tree. The animal is sprawling, with four legs bent on either side of the body, the head flat and tail curved. The effigy of a coon may also be seen among the group of mounds at Horicon. (Fig. 16.)

We give a cut here which will show the distinguishing marks of these effigies. It is a cut of mounds found at Waukesha.

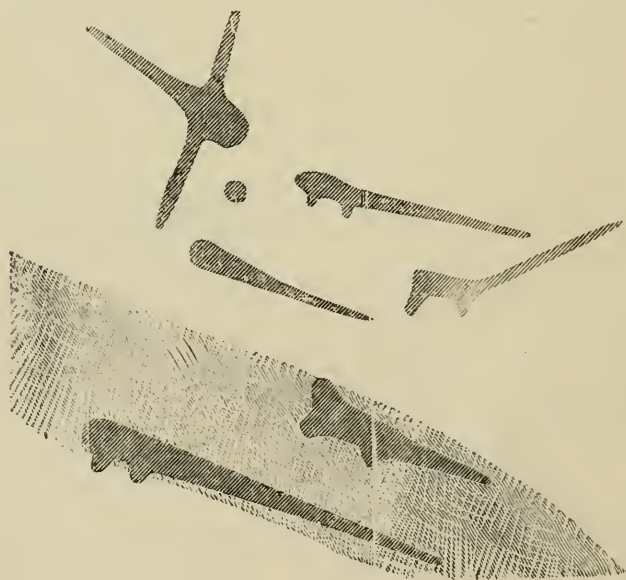


Fig. 22.

Of the seven effigies in this cut the first may be considered as that of a wolf, the second that of the panther, the third that of the squirrel, the fourth the coon, the fifth an effigy of a catfish,

† See also Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plate XXXVII.

sixth a bird. This group we should have said is located at Mayville, not at Waukesha. Dr. Lapham has called the bird a cross, but it is evidently a bird. The group is an interesting one, and well represents the different animals which we have undertaken to describe in this chapter.

CHAPTER II.

ANIMALS REPRESENTED BY THE EFFIGIES.

The task of identifying the animals represented by the effigies contained in the emblematic mounds, is the one which we have set before us in this chapter.

I. The importance of this work will first engage our attention. This will be seen from several facts:

1. There is much ignorance in reference to the emblematic mounds, and some have doubted whether they contain animal effigies. An author who has published a work upon "Mound Builders," identifying them with the Indians, has made the astounding assertion that there are no effigies in the mounds.* This seems strange, for Dr. I. A. Lapham published a work over thirty years ago, in which animal effigies were shown in great numbers. This work is deserving of all praise, as the surveying and plotting were in the main correct. There were, to be sure, many mistakes made by Dr. Lapham, especially in his identifications, as he seemed to lack the faculty of imagination, or some other equality, which should have enabled him to trace the resemblances in the right direction. He called panthers, lizzards, and birds, crosses. But other animals he did recognize and the work done by him is worthy of confidence. Certainly, those who have never seen the effigies should be backward in denying his statements, for similar skepticisms and denials would overthrow science altogether.

2. The interest in the mounds would be increased were we able to identify the effigies. There is a great lack of interest in the mounds, even on the part of those who ought to be familiar with them. Hunters and farmers pass over these effigies without noticing them. If they notice them, they do not recognize any animal shape in them, and many of them never dream that they contain animal effigies.

The first work should be, to trace out the shapes and see what

* Lucien Carr in Geological Report for Kentucky.

resemblances there are in the effigies. Possibly these resemblances would lead people to realize the importance of preserving the mounds as they are.

There is a wonderful rage for relics, and the first impulse is, to dig into the mounds. This, however, destroys the effigies.

The effigies as works of art, are worthy of admiration, and will in the future be regarded as great curiosities.

Many of these mounds are situated near the lakes, where there are places of resort. Visitors from a distance are attracted to the lakes on account of their beauty. The effigies should be preserved. If the interest shall increase they will be. Visitors should be led to recognize the effigies, and not allowed to destroy the mounds.

3. There are many absurdities in reference to the objects represented by the effigies which should be corrected. These absurdities sometimes appear in public print, but more of them are held in private and circulated among unthinking people. Some who are familiar with the mounds imagine that they see in them effigies of common domestic animals, such as horses, sheep and dogs, whereas a single thought ought to lead them to realize that the builders of the mounds would not have made effigies of these animals. They certainly could not have been familiar with them, unless they built the mounds after the advent of white men. The recognition of deer, weasels, buffalo, antelopes and other wild animals is, undoubtedly, correct. These animals were common at the time when the effigies were constructed. All such identifications are to be welcomed, for, by the means, we may ultimately determine, what wild animals did exist here at the time the effigies were erected.

The fauna has greatly changed, even within fifty years, but the mounds are constant reminders of what it once was. Instead of horses, there were panthers; instead of cattle, buffalo; instead of sheep, wild cats and bears. There is a slight resemblance between the domestic and the wild animals, so that it is not strange if the effigies of the one are mistaken for those of the other, but by tracing the shape of the animals, we may be able to correct this mistake, and ascertain what fauna did prevail.

4. The recognition of the animals in the effigies will clear up some *disputed points*.

a. Dr. Lapham, in his celebrated work, has maintained that there are among the mounds the figures of crosses, of dragons, and other symbols, which exist only among civilized races. The majority of these figures, however, we think will prove to be nothing but birds. Yet his statements in reference to them are taken without question. A recent writer, upon "Prehistoric America,"* has quoted these statements, as if they were true, and

* Articles by Prof. F. W. Wright, published in the Chicago Advance, quoted in the Kansas City Review for March, 1884.

his quotation has again been published by a journal of considerable repute. It seems surprising that gentlemen who are considered authority, should imagine that the Mound Builders were familiar with the European symbols, and that they incorporated into their effigies the traditions which are only peculiar to Christian nations. There are, to be sure, those who maintain that this continent was settled by Indo Europeans, and that these symbols of the cross and dragon and serpent are Celtic, or at least, Aryan in their origin.

Dr. J. S. Phene, of London, has visited this country, and explored the mounds. He thinks that he has recognized not only these symbols, but animals, which are peculiar to European or Asiatic countries, as for instance the camel and the elephant.

b. The great point of dispute, is, that concerning the *elephant*. It is well known that there is what is called an "elephant mound" in this state. (See Fig. 23.) All those persons who hold the European origin of the mound builders, would readily maintain that both the elephant and camel can be found in the effigies. Others, who do not believe in the European origin are, however, ready to maintain that the mounds were built so early, that the people who erected them were familiar with the mastodon. And so they think that this effigy proves not only the antiquity of the mounds, but the recent existence of the mastodon.

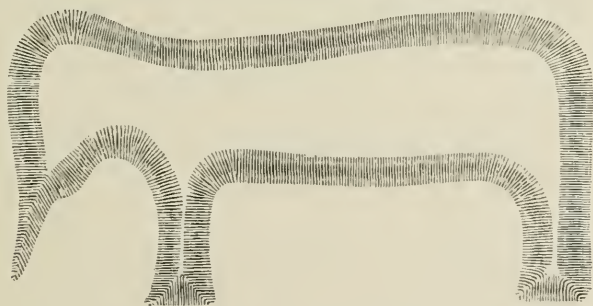


Fig. 23. Elephant Mound near the Wisconsin River. JARED WARNER.

These are important points, but they should be studied carefully. We are not inclined to dispute the evidences which may arise from other sources, but we object to hanging a decision upon so uncertain a thing as an effigy.

Were we able to identify this as an elephant, one very important fact would be fixed for a certainty, but thus far the identification remains doubtful. The chief authority for the existence of the elephant effigy is Mr. Jared Warner, who published the report of it in 1872.* The identification of the effigy was, however, in accordance with a popular notion, and may not have been as carefully and critically made as perhaps it would be

* See Smithsonian Report, 1872.

at the present time. The importance of carefully surveying and plotting the mounds is seen from the fact that so many points of great interest are made to hang on the identifying of a single effigy like this. Unless there are other mounds which contain effigies of the elephants, we should not be inclined to give a decision in reference to these points, but we should be convinced that the identifying of the animals is of prime importance.

In reference to this elephant mound, we would say here, that there is considerable uncertainty about it in our mind. The mound has been plowed down, and flattened, so that its outlines cannot be definitely traced. Yet, judging from the character of the soil, and the shape of the effigy, we can imagine that even at the time of its survey and plotting, the shape of it might have been very deceiving. We give a cut to illustrate. It will be noticed that the shape is very much that of an elephant, but no more so than some of the effigies seen elsewhere. The main question is, whether the proboscis is really there. The figure drawn by the surveyor gives the proboscis, but it will be noticed that it represents it as a slightly elevated ridge and is somewhat obscure. We can imagine how the washing of the sandy soil could produce such a ridge, when there was no intent, on the part of the builders, to represent it. Taking away this part of the animal and adding to it the "ear" (probable horns), which the owner of the land says, was formerly seen above the head, we can easily make it into a buffalo. Our own opinion is that it was the effigy of a buffalo. We give, however, the testimony of those who have surveyed the effigy, and leave it for the readers to decide, merely adding this remark, that the gentlemen might all have been mistaken, especially as they seem to have had a preconceived notion in reference to it.

The figure is from a survey taken on the ground by Mr. Jared Warner, Alexander Paul and J. C. Scott, in October, 1872. Mr. Warner says: "This mound has been known here for the last twenty-five years as the 'Elephant Mound.' The mound is situated on the sandy bottom lands of the Mississippi, about eight miles below the Wisconsin river. It is situated in a shallow valley, on either side of which, about twenty rods distant, are grassy, sandy ridges, about fifteen feet higher than the land where the mound stands. The total length of the effigy is 135 feet; from hind feet to back, sixty-five feet; from fore feet to back, sixty-six feet; width across fore legs, twenty-one feet; across hind legs, twenty-four feet; from end of proboscis or snout to neck or throat, thirty-one feet; from end of proboscis to fore legs, thirty-nine feet; space between fore and hind legs, fifty-one feet; across the body, thirty-six feet; general height of body above the surrounding ground, five feet. The head is large, and the proportions of the whole so symmetrical, that the mound well deserves

the name of the 'Big Elephant Mound.' Is not the existence of such a mound good evidence of the existence of the mastodon and the mound builders." Another person who visited this effigy and represented it as an elephant, is Mr. Moses Strong, who says, "It is known as the 'Elephant Mound,' and as it lies upon the ground it resembles an elephant or mastodon much more closely than any other animal, and the resemblance is much more perfect in this instance than in any other effigy. This mound, in common with all the rest in the group, has been under cultivation, and on account of its size special efforts have been made with plows and scrapers to bring it to the level of the adjacent field. Its size alone has protected it. These efforts have resulted in diminishing its height, increasing its width and general circumference, and rendering its outline somewhat indistinct."

II. We propose to show what difficulties there are in the way of properly identifying the effigies and how liable we are to make mistakes: 1. The indefiniteness with which the animal shape is represented in the mounds. Embossed figures in the soil are not like figures carved in stone, for they cannot assume as clear cut shapes. It is true that the relief of the effigies is always bold and striking, and that the shapes of the animals are depicted by the swells and depressions in the mounds so that every portion of the effigy may be regarded as a close imitation of every part of the animal, the earth mould fairly representing the form and shape. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the effigy may fail to impress an image upon our eye so as to convey the idea as to what animal was actually intended by it. This lack of definiteness is owing partly to the manner in which the animals are represented. The four-footed animals are represented in profile, with the legs upon one side, but the legs are

not separated. In this respect the effigies differ from inscriptions. We give a few illustrations of this. Fig. 24 is a specimen of an inscribed image found upon the side of the cave at West Salem.

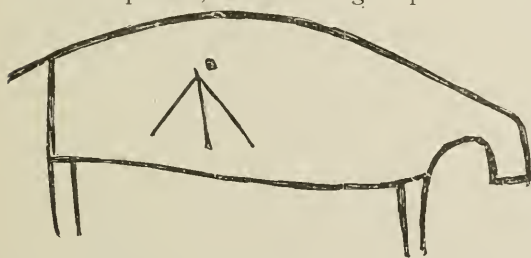


Fig. 24.

The drawing was prepared by Rev. Edward Brown. It probably represents a bear. Fig. 25 is also the figure of a bear found on Lake Mendota, described by Dr. DeHart. This figure, however, is not correctly drawn, as the effigy itself has the legs united, but the person who plotted it took the liberty to separate the legs, and to put the ears and tail and feet of the animal into



Fig. 25

the picture. It is easy to recognize the bear in the picture, but not so easy in the effigy. Fig. 26 more correctly represents the effigies as they really exist.

This was plotted by Dr. I. A. Lapham. It represents the bear. The figure shows how symmetrical the effigies are, but at the same time reveals the indefiniteness of the animal shapes.

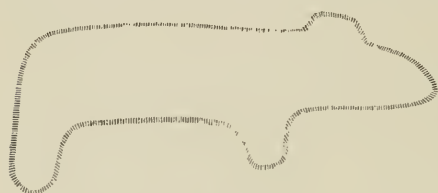


Fig. 26.

It is easier to recognize the bear in this effigy, than in the cave inscription. But there are many mounds which do not contain as close resemblance to the animals as this does.

2. Another source of error in identifying the effigies is a want of familiarity with the animals. We have referred to this before, but will give an illustration of it here. The inscriptions upon the cave afford an illustration. Fig. 27. The gentleman who described these figures, undertook to give the names of the animals—some he gave correctly. He called them the buffalo, the otter, the rabbit and the lynx. The buffalo can be recognized by its horns, the otter by its tail, and the rabbit by its ears; but the lynx is not right, for this animal has no tail, and the animal in the picture has a tail. It may be a wild cat, but is not the lynx. The same gentleman has imagined that he saw figures of mastodons and of the hippopotamus, but examination of the figures shows that the proboscis is lacking from the mastodon, the sign for speech having been mistaken for the proboscis.



Fig. 27.

The figure of the hippopotamus is not to be found, but that which was mistaken for one is probably a bear.

It is not strange that these figures were not understood, for

naturalists make great mistakes in identifying animals from figures.

It was the confession of a prominent geologist, made to the author, who is familiar with the emblematic mounds, that he could not recognize any animal resemblances in the effigies. Possibly this was owing to the lack of familiarity with the animals. It may have been, however, owing to the lack of imagination. This brings us to a third source of error.

3. There are difficulties which arise from the imagination. The effigies are very likely to be misinterpreted, unless we are especially careful. Preconceived notions may mislead us. Imagination is here both a useful and a dangerous faculty. It conveys to us as nothing else can, the idea of resemblance, the image in the effigy suggesting the image of the animal, and is useful in this respect. There are many cases, however, where part of an effigy will suggest the same part in an animal, and without stopping to trace out the image and verify the fact, imagination leaps forward to picture the whole animal, and, perhaps, by that very act, leads the observer astray. In this case imagination is dangerous. The plotting of mounds is a preventive of these mistakes. A surveyor who is able to take accurate measurements and then to plot the effigy, is most likely to be accurate in his conclusions. And yet, unless there is some imagination in the surveyor, so that the contour and complete figure can be given, mistakes will result from the very lack of the quality. A mere mechanical plotting will not convey the idea of resemblance.

Imagination is a useful faculty in the reader as well as the plotter. In presenting to the public pictures of the effigy mounds we have used silhouettes. These, however, do not convey any idea of the relief of the mounds; they merely give the shape and outline. Readers must depend upon their imagination to realize how they look when embossed upon the surface of the ground. If our readers will, however, take the descriptions given and then exercise their imaginative faculty, they may be able to recognize the animal shapes and trace the resemblances.

4. Another difficulty in the way of identifying animals is found in the size of the mounds. The pictures of the mounds sometimes convey an idea which the effigies themselves would fail to do. When the mounds are surveyed and plotted and brought down by a scale of inches to a small size, it is easier to decide as to the animal intended than when we are looking at the effigy.

The effigies are generally from 50 to 75 feet in length, and from 15 to 30 feet in width. Where certain portions of the effigy become prominent, as in the case of horned animals, the eye seizes upon these, and so far fixes a resemblance to some animal. If the remaining portion of the body accords with these, the animal can be easily recognized. It matters little whether

Following Fig. 5 is a row of 20 round mounds, each 25 ft. in diameter, or 6 ft. high and about 25 ft. apart. They are arranged in lines conforming to the crest of the ridge and present a peculiarly striking appearance. At the northern end of the row, the ridge turns abruptly to the west, and a change in the mounds takes place, the effigies being now headed in the other direction, the effigies at the south end of the mounds being headed to the south, but these to the west. Proceeding westward along the ridge, Fig. 7 is seen. The animal represented by this mound appears to have a short tail and horns, and is probably designed to represent some species of deer."

Mr. Strong says, "It is one of the few effigies in which we can trace a resemblance to some particular animal." A long interval now occurs, until at the extreme end of the ridge, two effigies, Figs. 9 and 10 are found. From this point a beautiful view of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers is obtained.

One peculiarity about the group is mentioned by Mr. Strong — it is this — that a certain uniformity of distribution and arrangement exists among the mounds, indicating a preconceived plan or custom. The effigies close the series at the western end as they begin the series on the southern end. The location of the long mounds are by themselves, the circular mounds by themselves, and the effigies also are located in groups by themselves.

The animals in this group of mounds seem to be uncertain, and Mr. Strong, who has surveyed them, did not undertake to identify them. Judging from the diagrams, we should say that

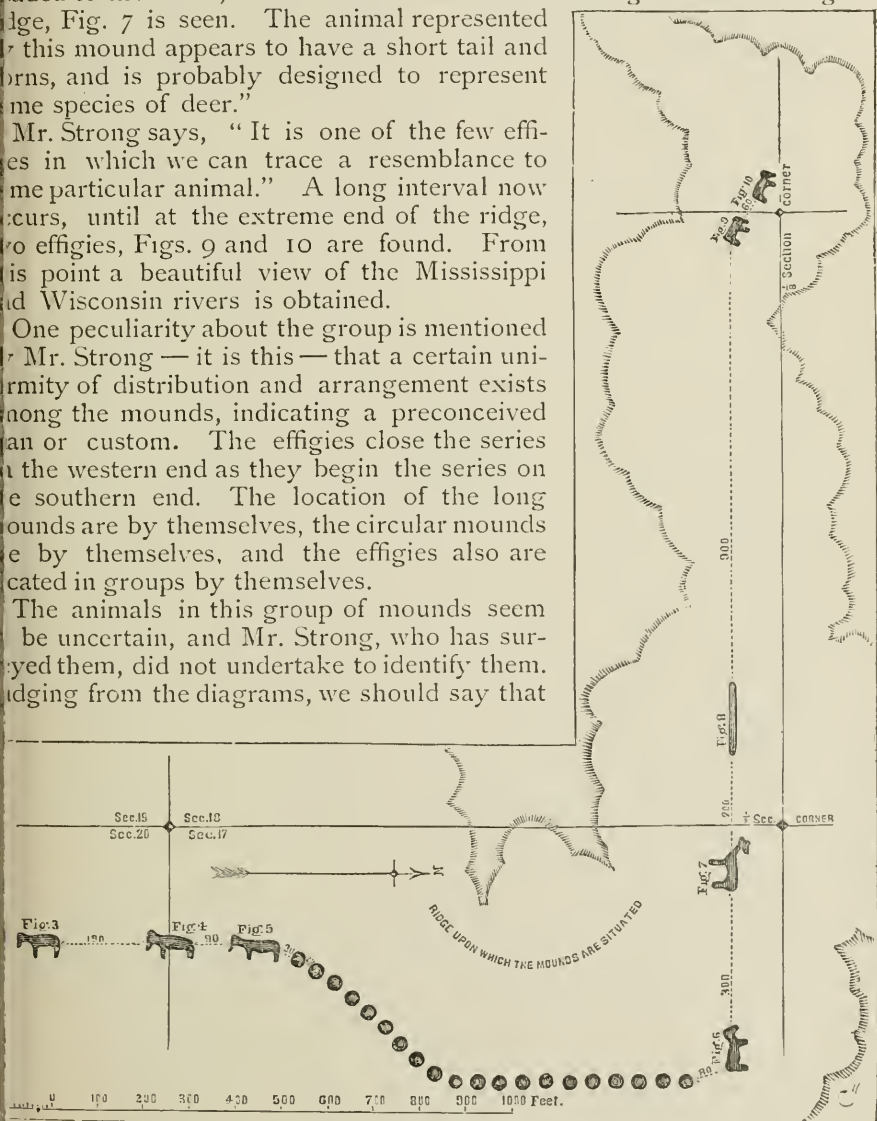


Diagram No. 2.

they were effigies of buffaloes, for the marked characteristics of the buffalo effigies may be seen in them, viz., the projection representing horns above the head. Yet any one who will study the shape of the effigies in this group will see how easily the animals might be taken for elephants. The mounds are in the same locality with the celebrated elephant mound. If these are buffaloes, we should incline to say that that was also. There is this difference in the locality. These mounds are on the bluff, where the soil is more compact, and where the effigies were less likely to be washed. The effigy of the elephant is, however, on bottom land, where the soil is sandy. It is situated in a swail which is subject to floods. It is also raised above the water level above the Mississippi river, but about eight feet, and although situated some distance from the river, might in some seasons be flooded by water, which would set back from the river.

III. The aids towards the recognition of the effigies will next engage our attention. 1. First among the aids is the method of classification of the animals visible among the effigies. A few words in reference to what has already been done will be in place here. In a former paper we have spoken of the classification of the animals visible among the effigies. This classification is the more remarkable from the fact that it prevailed among so rude and primitive a people. But it, at least, proves to be a great aid to us. The animals are classified according to their habits, or the element in which they have their existence, the land animals being represented in one way, the amphibious animals in another, the water animals in another, and the birds, or creatures of the air, in still another. These four classes have been identified, the manner of erecting the mounds being so distinctive that there is no uncertainty in reference to them. A subdivision of the land animals has also been referred to, and many individual varieties have been identified under two separate heads, the grazing animals being recognized by their horns, and the fur-bearing by their tails.

There are four classes of animals which may be recognized in the effigies. This we have already referred to, and we maintain there is no uncertainty in reference to it.

Our previous paper described only the land animals. We now propose to show the manner of representing the three other classes of animals, viz., the amphibious, the water animals, and the birds or creatures of the air. The plate given herewith, represents a group of mounds which was discovered and has been

* Smithsonian Report, 1872, page 416.

† Smithsonian Report, 1876, page 431.

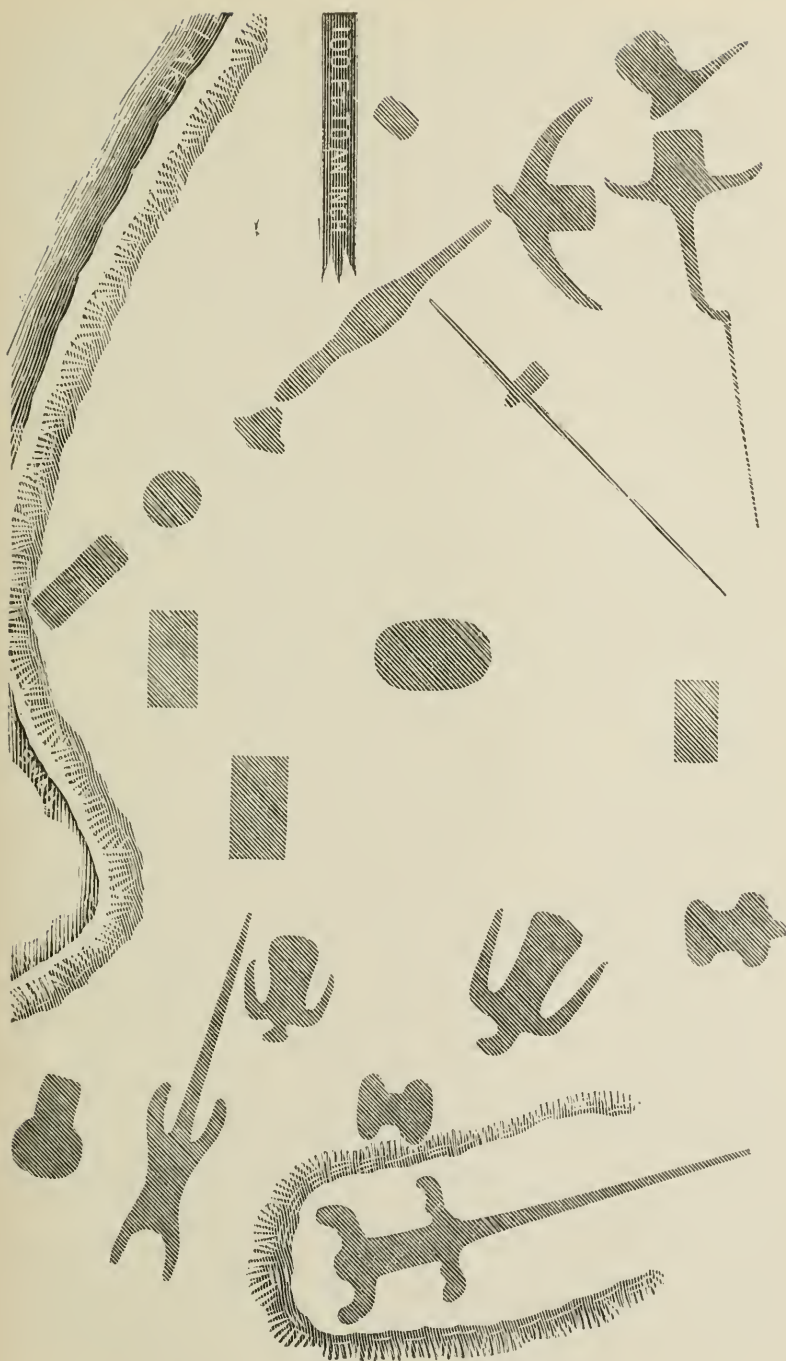


Diagram 3 Effigies at Lake Koshkonong. PEET.

plotted by the author. It is situated on the banks of Lake Koshkonong, and covers a plat of ground about ten acres in extent. The effigies vary in length from 75 to 200 feet, and in width from 15 to 30 feet. A great variety of effigies is presented by the group every animal being different. The animals which we have identified are, first, the lizard, the muskrat, a turtle, two eagles on one side, and on the other side a wood-cock, a heron, a hawk and an eagle spread, a fish and a small bird. The mounds in the centre are not animal effigies, but were probably either burial mounds or mounds erected as foundations for houses, the effigies of the animals being placed on either side as protections. Possibly the group indicates a place of worship or of sacrifice or a sacred place of some kind. It is situated not far from a group which has been described in our former paper as a place of sacrifice and as an outlook station, but in the background on the bank of a bay, as if the intent was to make it less conspicuous and more private in its character. The object of the group is, however, not to be discussed here, but the character of the effigies. The reader will notice that the animals are represented mainly in motion and in the motion which would be peculiar to animals inhabiting the different elements. The lizard and muskrat are represented as crawling or swimming the birds as flying and the fish as floating, the three classes of animals corresponding to the three elements. The reader will also notice the different methods of representing this. The amphibious animals, such as the lizard, turtle and muskrat, all are represented with their legs upon both sides as if in the attitude of swimming. The birds on the other hand, all have their wings extended as if in the act of flying. The fish is represented with the body alone, no particular part of this animal being prominent. The effigies are all good imitations of the animal shapes; the attitudes of the animals are also natural, but the manner of representing the different classes of animals is the most worthy of study. This is uniform — all the effigies which we have observed have the same characteristics, the manner of representing the animals having become conventional and fixed.

It seems strange that the different orders could be so represented and indicated so well, but the builders of these effigies were evidently artists. They understood the division or the classification of the animals, and were able to represent it in the effigies. We do not claim that they had any scientific or artistic training, but there were natural powers among them which brought them to an intimate acquaintance with the animals and which gave them much skill in depicting them. Their knowledge was that which came from observation and their skill from the imitative faculty. In these respects they excelled, even if they were crude and untrained in others. This has been

noticed in other cases. The rude drawings which have been discovered on bone and horn relics, taken from caves and gravel beds in Europe, indicate much artistic skill. The same is true of the pottery vessels found in this country. The mounds, however, show an unusual amount of knowledge concerning the animals. How the classification originated we cannot tell. It is possible that it was the result of observation, merely. The inductive faculty, however, was evidently possessed by these people in common with other human beings; and what is more, their habits of observing developed it to a high grade. They seem to have more skill in this respect than many who are far more cultivated. By observing the animals as individuals they may have come to perceive the resemblances between them, not only in appearance, but in habits, motions, attitudes, their familiarity with the animals, serving for them what a knowledge of the structure does to us. This would be the first stage.

The next stage would be that they would notice that the animals which inhabited the same elements, either land, water or air, universally have the same appearance. In erecting a likeness of them they would indicate this fact, and make the effigy of all the animals representative of the classes, those dwelling in different elements having different shapes. This is a true classification, and as far as it goes, is as good a grouping of the animals as any. It indicates the system of development, as the external appearance and the habits of the animals are known to correspond to the elements inhabited. It does not, of course, represent all the subdivisions, such as the modern scientists have established, but it saves us from uncertainty as to where certain animals belong in the system. Sometimes, to be sure it seems as if the animals were grouped even more correctly, according to this system of classification, the different species being designated by the effigies as well as the orders and genera. Perhaps there is only an attempt to portray individual creatures, according to their known shapes. Yet this virtually brings us to the same point in the end, whether the divisions were recognized by the effigy builders or not. Their skillful imitations of the animals lead us to a study which is very similar to that which the naturalists would follow.

There is something suggestive about this method, because it indicates that the shapes of the animals were correlated to the elements in which they dwelt, and the habits of the animals also were influenced by their environment.

The manner in which the different animals move, as well as their general appearance would be correlated. The people who erected the mounds may not have reasoned this all out, but they were true naturalists, as well as true artists. They, by their powers of observation reached the true, system of classification. Representing the animals according to their appearance

either in motion or at rest, they would naturally give the distinguishing traits, and so would unconsciously represent the orders as well as the individuals.

Again, the religious notions of the people may have had some effect upon them. It appears that a system of animism prevailed among them which led them to see not only the forms and to understand the habits of the animals, but to recognize the spirit which controlled them. It was not an individual spirit which they recognized but an ancestral one. Each species was credited with an architypal spirit, which was the general cause of life. The Great Master of life ruled over all animals, but the subordinate masters of life ruled the different classes of animals. There were many spirits or masters.

Everything had its spirit, the trees, the rocks, the streams, the animals. This ascribing a spirit to everything was equivalent to acknowledging a type of life. "Among the North American Indians," says one of the early missionaries, "they say that all the animals of each species have an elder brother, who is, as it were, the principal and origin of all the individuals, and this elder brother is marvelously great and powerful. The elder brother of the beaver, they tell me, is perhaps as large as our cabin."

In whatever way we explain it, however, it is manifest that there was a system of classification among this mysterious people. If there were any doubt in reference to the classification, we think that the facts would dispel them. We shall give a few illustrations, and would call attention to the correctness of the system by which the animals were classified. We have already shown that the land animals were universally represented with the legs upon one side. But the same uniformity can be seen in

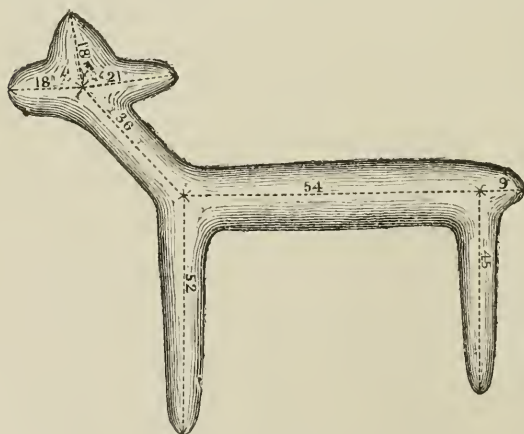


Fig. 28. Antelope in Grant County. STRONG.

the other animals, the amphibious always having been represented with the legs upon both sides, the birds represented by their wings, and the fishes and serpents being represented without either wings or legs. These are distinctive of the classes, and can be recognized in all cases. We give a series of figures to illustrate this point. See Figs. 28 to 31.

These four figures represent the different classes, first, the land

animals; second, the amphibious creatures; third, the birds; fourth, the fishes and reptiles. The reader will notice the peculiarities of the different effigies, the land animals having two projections on one side, the amphibious creatures having two projections on their sides, the birds having single projections on the sides, and the water animals having no projections. These are always distinctive and designate the orders or grand divisions which the animals belong.

The first figure is the effigy of an antelope, and was recognized as such by the surveyor. It was plotted by Mr. Moses Strong, and may be seen in the group of effigies located in Grant county.

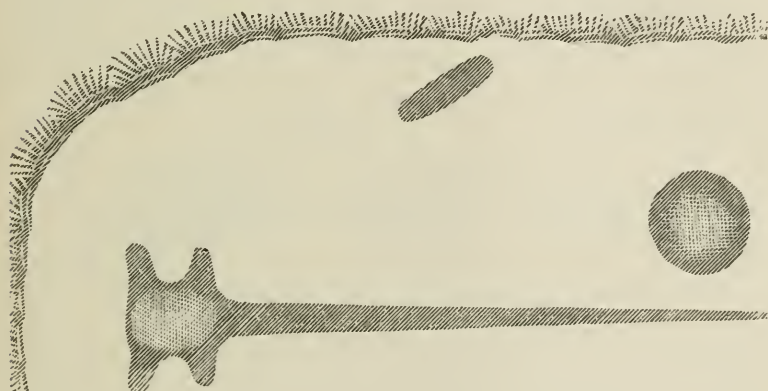


Fig. 29. Turtle at Waukesha. LAPHAM.

The second represents a turtle which is described by Dr. Lap-
ham, and was found by him at Waukesha

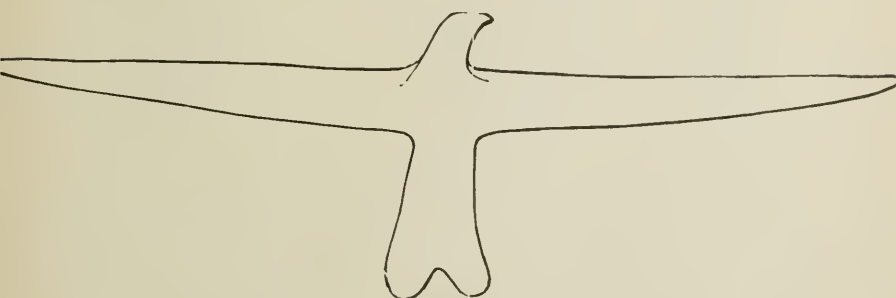


Fig. 30. Eagle at Madison, DEHART.

The third is the effigy of an eagle, which may be seen on Lake Monona, near Madison, Wis. The fourth is the effigy of a serpent, in association with a bird. This was discovered by Dr. Lapham, on Ripley Lake.

Fig. 31. Serpent at Ripley Lake. LAPHAM.

There is one locality where all the different classes of animals are portrayed side by side. The bear, representing the land animal, the turtle, amphibious creatures, the night hawk representing the birds, the fish and crawfish representing the water animals. See Figs. 32 and 33.

One peculiarity about the locality is that the effigies are situated on the summit of a series of knolls, the effigies covering the whole surface of the knoll and giving to it the shape of the effigy.



Fig. 32. Mounds on Lake Monona. PEET.

[This is a very remarkable instance; for the shape of the effigies not only show to us the methods of classifying the animals but also the method of making the earth itself, expressive of

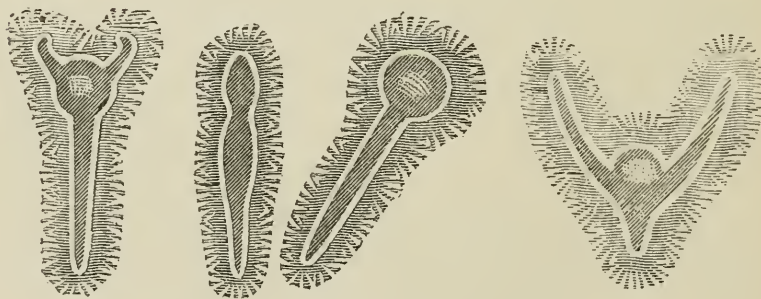


Fig. 33. Mounds on Lake Monona. PEET.

the religious sentiment which oftentimes connected itself with the effigies, a sort of animistic conception being given in the double image.

2, The distinctive marks of the individual species given in the mounds are aids in the work of identifying the animals. The individual species were represented by different representations of the same features—the legs and wings varying according to the species which were intended: This peculiarity

will be seen in the figures which follow. They are figures of turtles, lizards and birds. The turtles being distinguished from lizards by the shape of their legs. The contrast between these will show the different methods of representing the animals.

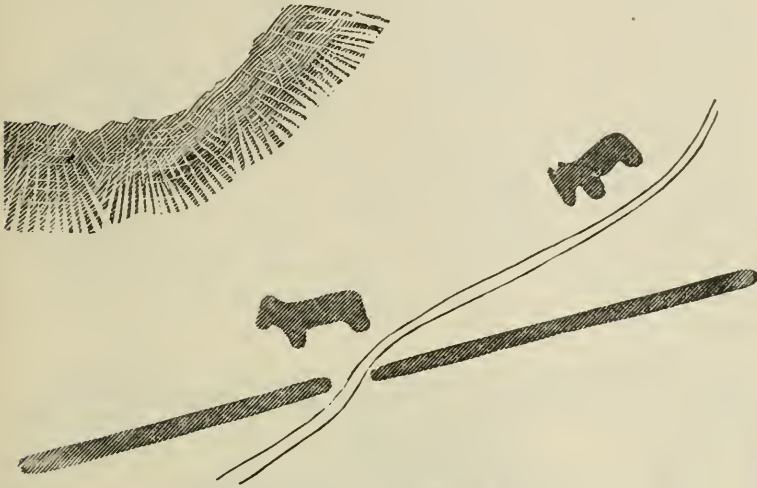


Fig. 34. Buffalo at Blue Mounds. LOCKE.

There are other methods of representing the classification of the animals, but these are generally expressive of sub-divisions. These sub-divisions seem to have been recognized, for the different species of animals as well as the genera are marked by the effigies. We furnish several figures to show how the sub-divisions may be represented. These representations do not interfere with the uniformity of method, by which the general divisions are represented, but only show the way in which the species could be indicated. We have seen already how the land animals are sub-divided, but the birds were also sub-divided, according to their species. The diagram (3) which represents the group of birds at Lake Koskonong, will show how these features are brought out, the different kinds of birds being there represented in the effigies. The wings are distinctive of the genus, but variations in the wings and heads and tails show not only the individuals but species. The reader will notice the different methods of representing species among the birds.

We shall now follow the order previously given, taking first, the land animals, next the birds, next the amphibious creatures, and lastly, the water animals. We have referred in a previous paper to the distinguishing mark of two classes of land animals, viz., the grazing and fur-bearing. The horns we found to be distinctive of one class and tails of the other. By these marks we have

already identified a large number of these animals. We give a series of figures to show that these distinctions are carried out by the effigies to a greater extent than was there indicated.

Two effigies have been described by J. Locke and R. C. Taylor, and may be recognized as images of buffaloes. Were there any doubt of it, the horns of one of them at least, would prove this. The effigies are situated eight miles east of Blue Mounds, in Dane county, near a sandstone bluff, and adjoining two long artificial embankments of earth walls. The embankments are 600 feet long, twenty feet wide, five feet high.

Several other figures are given to represent the same point. The distinctive marks of all the classes of effigies can be seen in the diagrams. Two are figures representing turtles and lizards. See Figure 35. These effigies were discovered by the author on a bluff near Beloit, near the state line. One of the turtles has been nearly destroyed by the grading of the road.

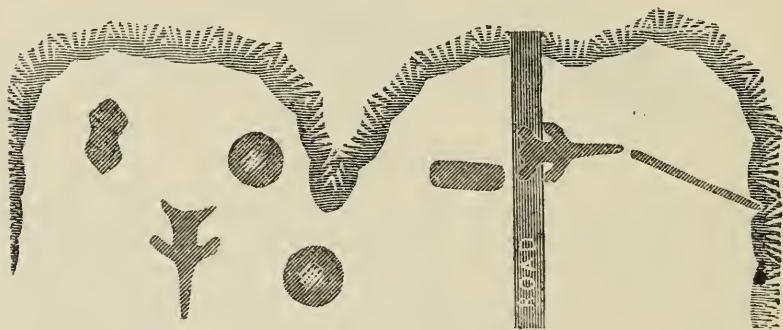


Fig. 35. Turtles at Beloit. PEET.

Still another figure representing turtles and birds is given. See Diag. 4. This group was also found by the author at Lake Koshkonong.

The different methods of representing the turtles and lizards, will be seen from these. Turtles are oftener represented with straight projections running at right angles to the body, but these are sometimes crooked. The lizard is also at times represented in the same way, but the narrow, slim body of the lizard can easily be distinguished from the turtle.

3. Analysis of the different parts of the animal figures given in the effigies will enable us to identify the animals.

The long neck of the heron, the short body and long bill of the woodcock, the curved wings of the hawk, and the broad folded wings of the eagle, enable us to identify the particular birds intended by these effigies. In the amphibious animals the distinctive points are generally the legs. These are so shaped that they indicate the particular animal intended. The legs of

the turtle are generally straight and extended from right angles from the body. The legs of the lizzard are generally crooked, and can easily be recognized from their peculiar shape. The legs or the musk-rat are generally bent or folded toward the body in opposite directions. (See Diagram 3.)



Diag. 4. Turtles and birds at Koshkonong — PEET.

It is probable that if we would analyze still farther, take some particular part, such as the head or legs, we could identify the effigies, even where other marks are lacking. For instance, the beaver is an animal which is sometimes represented with a tail so short as hardly to be recognized, and yet the beaver is easily identified by its shape. The effigy of a beaver (see Diagram 5) has been seen by the author, on the bank of Lake Waubasha, in connection with that of an antelope and several birds. The rabbit is an animal which is sometimes seen in effigy. The peculiarity of the rabbit is, that it has long ears and a very crooked or rounded haunch or hind legs. The effigy of the rabbit has been seen by the author, near Lake Wingra. At first, the shape was not recognized, but on a second visit, the peculiar shape of the legs, and the projection above the head, representing the ears, led to the identification of the animal. Dr. Lapham has described a figure which he calls the "elk," but it evidently was a rabbit.* The elk differs from this, in that the head is larger, the neck longer, the horns more erect, and the body more symmetrical. It would seem that the difference between the rabbit and the elk would be easily recognized.

The bear is an animal which is represented in the effigies, but

* See Lapham's *Antiquities*, page 54, figure 22

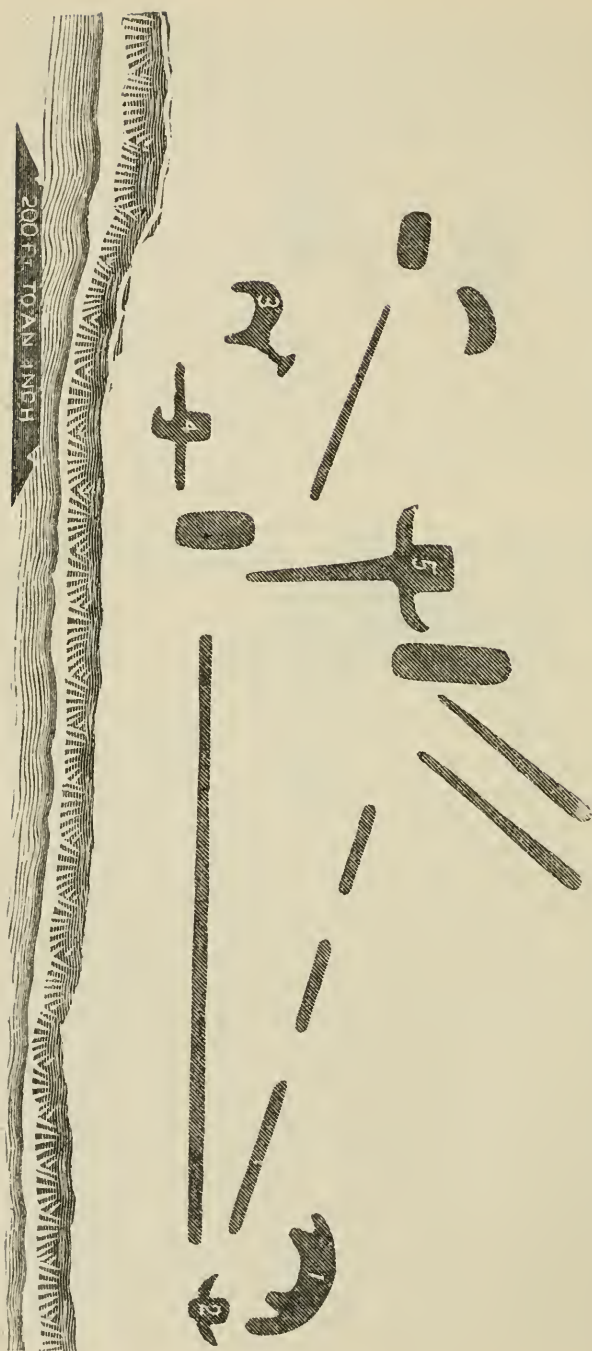


Diagram 5.

is more difficult to recognize and identify than any other. It is known by its peculiar body and head, the hind legs being the characteristic part. The bear is found in a great many different attitudes, and sometimes the attitudes bring confusion into the mind. Yet the large hind leg may be recognized in all the attitudes, and so the effigy be identified. It is known by its peculiar body and head. We give several figures of the bear to show how the distinctive marks may be recognized, even when the attitudes are different.

Two effigies (Figs. 36, 37) represented the bear, one standing erect with head raised, the other with head down and back raised. The

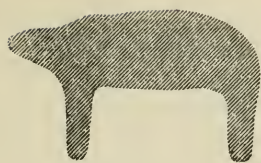


Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.

contrast between



Fig. 38. Bear effigies at Blue Mounds. S. TAYLOR.

the two is quite marked these two effigies were discovered by S. Taylor, and are described by Squirer and Davis* They were found on the Wisconsin river, near Muscoda, one of them is eighty-four feet long, and six feet high, the other is fifty-six feet long, and about twenty inches high. Dr. Lapham has described a number of bear effigies, one of which seems to be in the attitude of climbing. Its head is turned up, and its fore paws partially raised, but the characteristic hind quarters identify it. It is found on Sauk prairie, near Honey Creek. Another bear effigy is also described by the same author, as situated in the same region, but this bear has the ordinary attitude, as if standing. This figure was recognized by Dr. Lapham, but the attitude of the previous effigies led him to say, "That it would be difficult for the most practiced geologist to determine the genus or species to which it should be referred. Another bear was plotted by the same author, which had the front foot remarkably enlarged, yet the hind quarters would indicate what the animal was.† We have discovered the effigy of a bear on the banks of Lake Wingra, near the Charity School. The animal is here represented as standing. Sometimes bears appear before us in effigy having no particular characteristic marks, and then they are much more difficult to recognize. Fig. 38 will illustrate this. This is taken from the plotting by Mr. R. C. Taylor.‡ They are found near the Blue Mounds, in Dane County, eighteen miles from Madison.

* See Lapham's Antiquities, Plate XLIV, Plate XLV No. 2, No. 4.

† See Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. I, Plate XLIII, XLVI, No. 1.

‡ See Smithsonian Contribution, Vol. I Page, 126.

The group is situated on the great Indian trail and contains six effigies of quadrupeds, six mounds in the forms of parallelograms, one effigy of the human figure, and a small circle. The area comprehended in the map is something less than a half mile in length. It is not easy to make out from the effigies the character of the animals intended to be represented. It has been suggested that they were designed to represent buffalo, which formerly abounded in the vicinity, but the absence of a tail and of the characteristic hump of that animal would seem to point to a different conclusion. They display a closer resemblance to the bear than to any other animal with which we are acquainted. These figures seem to be most prevalent; and, though preserving about the same relative proportions, vary in size from 90 feet to 120 feet. In many others, as at this point, they occur in ranges, one after the other, at regular intervals of most of them.



Fig. 39. Man near Blue Mounds.

4. It should be noticed that the mound builders had a distinct way of representing the human form. The land animals were represented with the legs upon one side, the water animals with legs upon both sides. But the human effigy is represented with legs and with arms, the arms generally extended. The arms, however, were the chief characteristic. A human effigy is described by Mr. S. Taylor, as situated within a mile of the Wisconsin river, near Muscoda, on section 35, in which the legs do not appear, but the arms do. It was prob-



Fig. 40.

Man and Woman on the Wisconsin River. TAYLOR.



Fig. 41.

ably designed as an effigy of a woman. (See Fig. 40.) The head and breast are in this case raised by heaps of earth so as to be more prominent than the rest of the body.

In the group is the effigy of a man with its head toward the

west, and having its arms and legs extended. Its length is 125 feet, and 140 feet from the extremity of one arm to the other, each arm being about 45 feet long. The body is about 30 feet in breadth and 100 feet long, the head is 25 feet in diameter. The elevation of the whole effigy is about 6 feet.

One cannot doubt that this effigy is the figure of a man, for all the characteristics peculiar to it are clearly shown. This effigy occupies an eminence, and was the centre of a group of mounds 15 in number, which extended at intervals of about 25 feet apart for the distance of about 1,500 feet. Another human effigy is described by Mr. S. Taylor, as existing in the same locality, but representing the human figure with two heads. See Fig. 15. The measurements of this effigy are given as follows: length of body 50 feet, arms 130 feet, neck and head 15 feet, across the breast 25 feet, over the arm at shoulders 12 feet, at the end 4 feet, over the hips 20 feet, over the legs 8 feet, tapering to 5 feet, over the neck 8 feet, over the head 10 feet. Another effigy has been described by the same author, as situated near Sec. 35, T. 4, R. 1 W. It is situated in the margin of the forest, and is truly a giant, measuring from the extremity of one arm to the other 177 feet, and from the top of the head to the end of the trunk 111 feet. Its shoulders, head and breast are elevated 4 feet. About a mile to the north of this is another effigy of like magnitude, accompanied by a large group of works. Among them is a large mound, 200 feet in circumference and 5 feet in height. * Dr. Lapham has mentioned a number of effigies, which he thinks were human figures, but in several cases has mistaken birds for human effigies. One such figure may be seen at Mayville, and forms the bird effigy in the group, described in our last paper. Another human effigy is described as situated on Grand River, and is depicted in Fig. 26, it is called "The Man," and is remarkable for the unequal length of the arms. This also, is evidently the effigy of a bird. Another human figure, with gigantic arms, having a stretch of 280 feet, and a body of 54 feet in length, is described as existing near the Wisconsin River, on Sec. 35, T. 9, R. 4 E. This figure stands by itself in a valley in a pass between two high sandstone bluffs, one which rises immediately above the head. Another, also, on Sec. 9, T. 16, R. 2. This is called "a man," with legs expanded out, having no contraction for the neck. Both of these figures are, however, birds. At least the characteristics of the human effigy are lacking. There is no neck or head which has any resemblance to the human form, and the so-called arms and legs are as close imitations of wings, and the divided tail of birds. In fact, none of the figures described by Dr. Lapham are human effigies.

It is doubtful, also, whether the last figure described by Mr.

* See Squier & Davis' Contributions- Vol. I, Page 133, Plate XLIV, No. 2.

S. Taylor, was that of a man. The author has discovered effigies which might be taken for man mounds, but which were more likely intended for bird effigies. One such can be seen in the group of mounds on Lake Wingra. (See Fig. 12, No. 1, Vol. VI.) This is much more likely to have been a bird, probably a night-hawk. Human effigies have, however, been discovered by the author, and identified to a considerable degree of certainty. One such was found near Lake Monona, on land belonging to Mr. Nichols. The effigy forms one of a group, among which is a panther and a bird. The most striking specimen of the human effigy, is one which was discovered by the author, in company with Prof. F. W. Putman and Mr. J. C. Kimbal. It is situated near the public school building in the village of Baraboo. The effigy formed one of a line of mounds, which extended over the bluff where the school house now stands. The human effigy was, however, situated near the foot of the hill at the end of the line of mounds. It represented a man as lying upon his back, on the side of the hill, with feet extended toward the south; one arm drawn in toward the body and the other arm bent at the elbow and extending away from the body. The legs were not so plain, as they had been destroyed by the street grade, they ended in a garden and only one of them could be traced throughout its whole length. There is no doubt that the effigy was that of a man, the resemblance was too striking to doubt it.



CHAPTER III.

BIRD EFFIGIES.

The study of bird effigies is one of great interest. It brings us into the haunts of nature, and presents to us a very interesting class of works. These effigies are close imitations of nature, and are often excellent works of art. They have also great significance, and should be studied with this point in view.

There are four questions which arise in connection with the study of birds. 1st. Their shapes and attitudes. 2d. Their habits and haunts. 3d. Their character, disposition and spirit or nature. 4th. The proper method of classifying them. These questions are interesting in connection with the bird effigies, for they bring up the question whether there is any correspondence in the effigies to the birds, in these particulars. In reference to this we are free to say that bird life is very plainly exhibited. It would seem that the builders of the mounds were well acquainted with the habits and peculiarities of the birds and other animals, and that they had great skill in exhibiting those habits in the mounds. We do not say that the mound builders were confined to this imitative purpose, for there seems to be in many of the effigies a secondary purpose, as if a religious motive ruled in the erection of them, but if any such motive did obtain, it is evident that it only intensified their imitative art, and carried their skill from the depicting of the shapes of the birds into a subtle representation of the spirit and real character of the birds. It is singular how skillful they were in representing the attitudes of the birds. This skill was exercised upon mere heaps of earth, but they had the faculty of moulding them into such a shape as to tell a story which any attentive observer may read.

I. *The Shapes and Attitudes of the Birds.* These are represented by the effigies, and enable us to distinguish the birds from all other creatures. It is important that we study the shapes and attitudes, for many mistakes have been made for the want of a proper understanding of them. We have seen that there are several classes of effigies, and that the distinguishing features of the animals are represented by the mounds, two projections upon one side of a central figure being always indicative of the land animals, the two projections upon two sides of a central figure being indicative of the amphibious creatures. We are to notice that the birds are distinguished by a single projection upon each side of a central figure, and that birds are uniformly represented in this way. A fourth class of effigies may be dis-

tinguished by having a single projection on one side; this class represents not animals, but implements, such as battle axes and war clubs. A fifth class is distinguished by having no projection whatever. These are the fishes and reptiles which are known to have neither legs nor wings. We have already called attention to these distinguishing marks, but so many mistakes have been made that we need to be careful in our analysis of the effigies. (1) We therefore call attention again to the four classes of effigies.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 42.

The bear, the bird, the turtle, the fish, and war club, are here placed side by side. (See figs. 41-42-43-44-45.) The bear is taken from a group at Muscoda. The bird from a group on the Wisconsin River. The fish and the war club from a group at Mayville. It is noticeable that many of the groups have all four classes of animals associated. The group at Mayville has three land animals, the coon, panther, and wolf, one

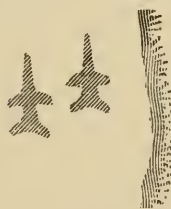


Fig. 43.

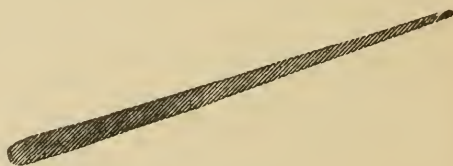


Fig. 44.

bird effigy, one fish, and one implement, the war club, but no amphibious creature represented. At Lake Koshkonong, there are, however, several groups which contain all of the classes or animals in close proximity. Here in one group may be seen the panther, the turtle and the fish, no bird. In another group may be seen the panther, the turtle, the duck and the fish,



Fig. 45.

but no war club. In another, a lizard, muskrat and turtle represent the second class, the eagle, hawk, bittern, the third class, the fish, the fourth, but no land animal and

no implement. (See figs. 10 and 15, Vol. VI, No. 1, Diagram 3, page 186.) In the mounds at Lake Monona, the bear, turtle, bird, fish and craw fish and war club, are in one group. In another there are turtles, birds of different kinds, fishes, but no land animals and no implements. At Lake Horicon there are foxes, squirrels and wolves to represent land animals, turtles to represent the amphibious creatures, wild geese and ducks to represent birds, and fishes to represent water animals, war clubs and composit mounds. There is a locality which has been described by Dr. Lapham, where a large number of ridges are placed in such a shape as to form a square inclosure. Here the only effigy is a war club, several shapes and kinds, however, being seen. On the Milwaukee River lays a group where the turtle, the wild goose, the crane, a serpent and a war club are all associated, but no land animals present. (See Lapham's Antiquities, Plate X.)

At Pewaukee there are ten turtles and only one land animal, and that in an excavation or intaglio effigy rather than in an elevated mound. At Indian Prairie there are four intaglio panthers and two birds, but no turtles, fishes or war clubs. At Honey Creek there are birds and buffalo. At Lake Winnebago there are coons and squirrels, turtles, eagles, war clubs and fishes, but no composit mounds. At Great Bend there are panthers and turtles and birds, but no war clubs. Occasionally tadpoles and serpents are seen among the mounds.

It is noticeable that in the effigies of birds the wings are distinctive of the genus or order, but that the bodies or beaks are distinctive of the species. The birds are recognized by the wings, but are distinguished from one another by other parts of the body. There are a few effigies of birds where the wings are not represented, the shape of the body and bill being the only indication that a bird was intended. The most noticeable effigy is that of the woodcock at Lake Koshkonong. (See Diagram 3.) This is an exceptional case. If the reader will take the pains to look over the diagrams, he will notice how uniform the representations of the birds are. It seems as though this method of portraying them had become conventional.

(2) We next call attention to the different attitudes of the birds. Four shapes may be recognized in the effigies, (first) where the wing is in a straight line forming a long ridge at right angles to the body; (second) where the wings are partially bent, the ridge frequently being of great length, but bent at such points as to properly represent the proportions of the wings; (third) where the wings are bent at right angles; a (fourth) shape is where the wings are curved like a scythe. Here the proportions are also observed, the length of the wing compared with the body being indicative of the species. It is a question whether the

species can always be recognized by the wings alone, but there are many cases where the wings make that attitude of the bird. The eagle has generally three attitudes; one where the wings are extended in a straight line; the other where the wings are partially bent; and the third where the wings are at right angles. Eagles are generally recognized by the wings as well as the beak, as the attitudes are represented in a very lifelike manner. The hawk belongs to the same order and resembles the eagle. It is, however, oftener represented with the wings bent, and may be recognized by the angular shape of the effigy. The difference between the hawks and eagles may be seen by comparing the figures. The hawk has frequently a forked tail, but the eagle never has. A good illustration of the shape of the wings may be seen in a group at Lake Monona.

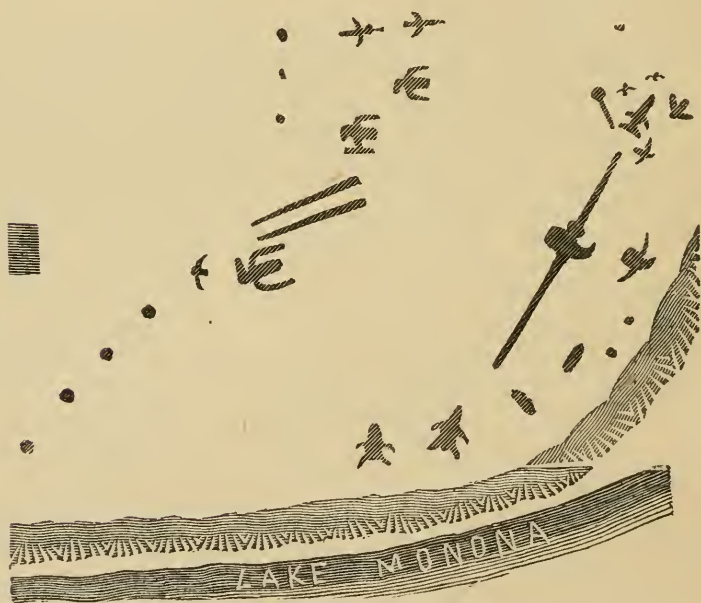


Fig. 46. Bird Effigies at Lake Monona.

The eagle is here represented as having its wings extended, the hawks have their wings bent at right angles; the wild geese have their wings curved; the pigeons have their wings oblique to the body, and one figure has one wing protruding forward. The figure illustrates not only the different attitudes of the birds, but also how the birds differ from one another in their shapes. Some of the same birds are represented on a large scale in the figures which follow, and from these their shapes may also be studied.

(3) The distinguishing marks of the effigies which represent the species of the birds will next be given. These are seen in the beaks and bodies. We shall illustrate this point by figures, taking some of the illustrations from the groups already described but representing the birds as detached from the groups. We shall also mention the individual species, and call attention to the shapes of the effigies as portraying the species. We shall not undertake to describe all of the species, but take the more prominent kinds as typical. The *wild goose* is the first which we shall notice. Wild geese are frequently represented in the effigies. We have seen effigies of them at Lake Monona, at Mayville, near Sauk Prairie, on the Wisconsin river, at Honey Creek, and many other localities. It is well known that the wild goose has a very long neck and a short body. Wild geese are always represented in this manner. A figure is given here representing a part of the group seen at Lake Horicon. Here the wild geese are associated with foxes and squirrels. (See Fig. 47.)

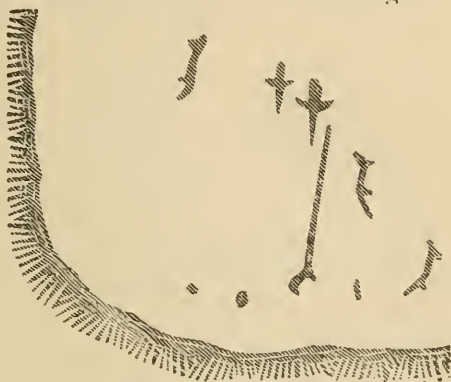


Fig. 47. Wild Goose.

The Duck — It is well known that the duck, on the other hand, has a short neck and a thick, strong wing. A figure is given to illustrate this. (See Fig. 48.) This represents a group at Lake Koshkonong. There are in one group two birds. These have short, curved wings, sharp beaks and round, plump bodies, probably intended to represent different kinds of ducks, the mallard and blue duck, birds which are common in this region at the present time.* These two birds are attended by long, tapering mounds, which were intended for fishes, though the shape of the fish is lacking.

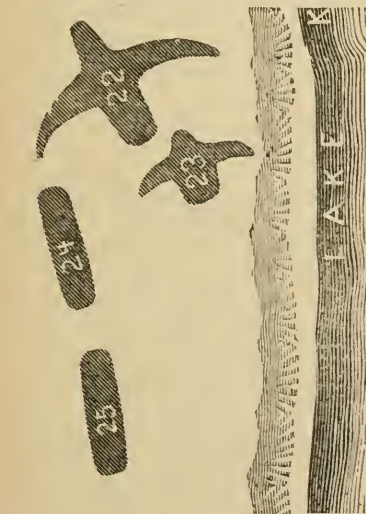


Fig. 48 — Ducks at Lake Koshkonong.

*See Fig. 15, first paper.



Fig. 49.

The swallow was seen by Mr. S. Taylor, in Grant county, Sec. 16, T. 8, R. 1, W. The owl has a large, thick body, short bill, and is peculiarly heavy across the shoulders. The effigies all have these characteristics. (See Fig. 50.)

The *Prairie Hen* is also frequently represented in effigy; this is common on the prairies and the effigy of it is oftener seen near prairies than anywhere else. One such effigy may be seen at Waukesha. It is called by Dr. Lapham the cross. Several effigies of prairie



Fig. 51.

chickens may be seen at Crawfordsville. Here the effigy is associated with panthers and turtles, but is called by Dr. Lapham, the dragon. In both cases the bird is seen in the attitude of flight, its wings extended in a straight line,

an attitude which is very common with the prairie chicken. The wings are wide the body thick, the tail round and the head short. The *Hawk* is a bird which has marked characteristics, but always has in the effigies a sharp bill, a flat head, long, pointed wings and may be easily distinguished from all other birds except the eagle. The eagle belongs to the same family in order and as a result the two effigies are more likely to be confounded. We give a figure representing hawk effigies, (See Fig. 58) taken from the group at Honey Creek. The hawks were there associated with

The *Swallow* is a bird distinguished for having peculiarly sharp wings. The swallow is seen at Lake Koshkonong, associated with a group with two pigeons and a turtle. (Fig. 49.)

The swallow resembles the night-hawk, and we are in this case at a loss to say whether it is the swallow or night-hawk which is here represented.

The *Pigeon* is frequently represented in effigy. This bird has a pointed tail and is represented with wings at right angles or partially extended, and is easily recognized by the shape and attitude.

Several pigeons have been described by Dr. Lapham, as situated at Maus Mills on the Lemonwier river.

The *Owl* is a bird which is easily recognized by its horns. The effigy of a horned



Fig. 50.

buffaloes and are plainly recognized in the group. There are many other effigies of birds but we have not space to describe them all.

The proportion between the wings and body is generally indicative of the species. It is remarkable how accurately the proportions were observed. It would seem almost as if measurements had been made, and that effigies were erected from a scale of inches. Occasionally, however, the wings and bodies are erected disproportionately. This, however, was for a purpose. There are localities where the wings of birds serve for defense, and in such places the wings were extended in order to protect the greater area. One such case may be seen in Mills Woods. See Fig. 46. Here one of the wings of the bird are stretched out nearly 600 feet. At Muscoda, there is a bird effigy which extends over 1,000 feet. In many other localities the same features may be observed.

(4.) We are to consider another point in this connection, and refer now to the bird effigies, which have been mistaken for crosses, dragons and man mounds.

We have been particular in giving the peculiarities of the birds because no class of effigies has been so misinterpreted as this. The opinion seems to prevail that there are effigies of crosses, dragons, bows and arrows and other figures, which are peculiar to both civilized and uncivilized races. It does not seem probable that the cross would be represented among the animal effigies of Wisconsin, but all the writers upon Emblematic Mounds have spoken of crosses in great numbers, and the mistake seems to be repeated continually. A writer who has just prepared some articles on prehistoric man, has kept up the delusion, and speaks of the crosses and dragons. We maintain that in every case where these writers have recognized the cross is where the bird is the effigy intended. We call special attention to this point. It seems singular that such mistakes should have been made, but it is owing to the fact that the shapes of the effigies were not analyzed and compared with the shapes of the birds with sufficient care. If we observe the peculiarities of the birds in studying the effigies we shall be saved many mistakes.



Fig. 52. See Fig. 3, page 10; also LAPHAM'S *Antiq.*, Plate II.

(1) *The Cross*.—Dr. Lapham, in his work which we have so often quoted, has represented that there were crosses and dragons and many human effigies among the emblematic mounds. It is noticeable that nearly every cross which he has described may be, when studied according to this rule, identified as a bird. The same is true of the so-called dragons, and even in most of the specimens of human effigies; for these, when resolved into their proper elements and analyzed carefully, have all proved to be birds. Perhaps it should be said that the wings of birds do have some resemblance to the arms of a cross, and occasionally the dragons and birds have resemblances to the upright parts, but the variations are very great. This, however, reveals to us the reason why Dr. Lapham has given such a variety to his so-called crosses, and why he has called some of the effigies crosses and some dragons. It appears that there are scarcely two crosses alike. Sometimes they are represented with long upright bars and sometimes short standards. The cross bar is sometimes straight and sometimes curved; again it is placed at an oblique angle, and at times exceeds in length the standard.

There are so-called crosses which have large full heads and a long tapering foot; sometimes the head and foot and the cross bars and the arms are of equal length, and in fact in nearly every shape.

The first place where Dr. Lapham thought he recognized the cross, was near the Milwaukee river. Here are two effigies of birds, probably wild geese. They are situated on the summit of a hill, and are associated with a number of intaglio effigies representing panthers. The group was intended, in our opinion, to represent the animals which were common in the vicinity, and no idea of the cross ever entered the head of the builders of the effigies. The use of the intaglios or excavated effigies was probably as a hiding place for hunters. The high mound was used as an observatory and the bird effigies either as screens or as outlooks. The locality was formerly surrounded by a dense forest and the birds and beasts represented were such as were common among the forests.

A second locality where birds have been taken for crosses was also near the Milwaukee river. (See Fig. 53.) Mr. L. L. Sweet surveyed the group, and says, "The largest cruciform figure is 185



Fig. 53. Crosses on the Milwaukee River.

feet in length of trunk, the head 24 feet long; the arms 72 feet each; the height at the head, three feet 10 inches; at the center, 4 feet 6 inches. The shaft gradually diminishes to a point at the end; the appearance is that of a cross sunk in light earth in which the extremity is still buried beneath the surface. Two round mounds near the foot of this cross are each three feet high, and 20 and 22 feet in diameter. A third effigy was discovered by Dr. Lapham, near Ft. Atkinson, closely associated with an intaglio effigy, and is compared to others situated at Waukesha and Crawfordsville. In this case, however, the bird represented resembles the prairie chicken, as the body is short and thick, and the arms much longer than the body. (See Fig. 51.)

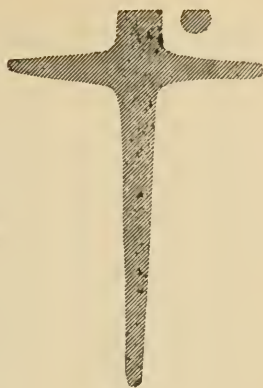


Fig. 54.

Another effigy (bird or cross), 52 feet in length of body, and 117 feet in extent of wings, was seen by Dr. Lapham, near Jefferson. The cross at Merton, Dr. Lapham says has the following dimensions, the length of each arm (or wing), 160 feet; length of the head, (upper part) (body), 51 feet, foot (neck), 175 feet and at the lower part an expansion. The author does not say what this expansion is intended for. The fifth cross is one with oblique arms. It was described by Dr. Lapham as situated near Fox Lake. He says, "On the west side of the stream is an extensive group, containing a "cross," oblong and circular mounds, one of the bird form, and two that were perhaps intended to represent the elk. Among the figures was a "cross," the arms of which were *oblique*, and one effigy forming a tangent to the cross, its outline resembling a war club." This group has now disappeared, but judging from the figure we should call the cross a bird and the "elks" rabbits.

"There are sixteen mounds in cruciform variety at Horicon. They are not placed in any uniform direction, some having their heads turned toward the north and some toward the south. The form seen is exactly the same as that seen on the Milwaukee river. Of the mounds found in this locality, Dr. Lapham says, they are the most extended and varied groups of ancient works, and the most complicated and intricate. They occupy the high bank of the river on both sides. Immediately above, the river expands into

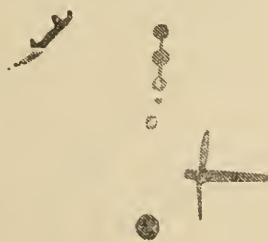


Fig 55. Cross at Horicon.

a broad and shallow lake, extending twelve miles with a breadth of five miles. Immense numbers of fish and water fowls are to be found there. One of the crosses has the arms extended quite athwart the top of the ridge which is here flanked by the river and on the other side by an extensive marsh; near this cross are two large mounds twelve feet high and sixty-five feet in diameter. Near the cross which is given in figure 55, is a large conical mound and long mound, which regularly tapers for the distance of five hundred and seventy feet. This mound runs parallel with the line of the bluff; the cross is at right angles. The location of the crosses near this lake and near the effigies of foxes, squirrels and turtles, would lead to the opinion that the effigies were those of wild geese and not intended for crosses. At this place there are two composite mounds, one of them on the east side of the river and one on the west side. The composite mounds are the central objects in both groups; the whole arrangement of the effigies, burial mounds and composite mounds, would indicate that the locality was used as a village site, and that the effigies were placed on the edge of the bluff for the purpose of defense. The cross has no significance in such a locality, but the wild goose has. Another locality, supposed by Dr. Lapham to contain crosses is in the vicinity of Mayville; one group comprises thirty-five mounds in various forms, and occupies a nearly level strip between the base of a large ridge and brook. "We found here," Dr. Lapham says, "one of the largest and most regular turtle mounds three or four quadrupeds. The two crosses are directed toward the northeast, while the most of the other forms are in an opposite direction. Their arms are seldom at right angles with the body, nor are the two parts of the body or trunk in the same line; the head is always largest, highest, and rectangular in form." Dr. Lapham also says: "If these crosses are to be deemed evidence of the former existence of christianity on this continent, as some have inferred, we may with almost equal propriety assert that Mohamedanism was associated with it, and as proof refer to the mound or ridge here presented in the form of a crescent." We suggest that the mound called a crescent was the effigy of a duck, and that the mound called a cross was the effigy of a wild goose, for the description corresponds better with the ordinary effigies of that bird as seen in other localities. Another cross, "as usual, with a direction opposite to that of other figures," is described as situated a little south of Mayville, on Section 26, "Here is a group of three mounds, of which the central one is doubtless intended to represent the trunk and arms of the human body." Here the author has mistaken the effigy of a pigeon whose head is so short as to be hardly visible for that of a headless man and the effigy of a wild goose for a cross, but recognizes the fourth figure as the effigy of an animal.

The absurdity of such comparisons is too plain to be refuted. "At Lake Winnebago," Dr. Lapham says "is a 'cross,' sometimes 'called a man,' but it wants the legs and the contraction of the neck seen in the mounds of human form."

[2.] *The Man Mounds*.—There are many human effigies among the mounds, but, many of the so-called man mounds are nothing more or less than bird effigies. We propose to review Dr. Lapham's list of man mounds to show that in nearly every case he has mistaken a bird effigy and called it a man. The two effigies just referred to, are cases in point. There are other bird effigies which have some resemblance to the human figure; two such birds may be seen on the brow of the bluff near Honey Creek Mills. They are hawks rather than human effigies. See figure.

"The human figure with its gigantic arms having a stretch of 288 feet," also described by Dr. Lapham as situated in Town 8, Range 4, is but a bird effigy. This figure stands by itself in a valley or pass between two of the high sandstone bluffs, one of which rises immediately above the head. From the site of this remarkable and lonely structure, the road leaves the valley of the Wisconsin. The figure here represented as the man mound has a head which bears a slight resemblance to the human head, but has no legs, the only point of resemblance to the human effigy is in the arms, which are said to extend to a prodigious length.* It is evident that the effigy is a bird placed in the pass as a guard for protection as the bird effigies at Honey Creek Mills are placed on the summit of a bluff to protect a similar pass.

Another human effigy, though very deficient in the proportional length of the arms and legs, is depicted on the same plate with the above. There is said to be a companion mound similar to it, and the two are supposed to represent a male and female. These figures have no resemblance to human effigies. Dr. Lapham says: "It is to be observed that the difference between the mounds evidently birds, and those resembling the human form is but slight, so that it is sometimes not easy to decide which was meant by the ancient artists." The distinction between bird effigies and man mounds may be traced, if it is remembered, that the proportions between the arms and legs and body of the human being are generally closely observed in the man mounds. The arms are also blunt at the end, the head is generally well formed.

[3.] *The Bow and Arrow*.—There are effigies which have been taken for figures of the bow and arrow. One such is described by Dr. Lapham as situated on the Kickapoo river. It is a part of the group already described as a game drive, and forms the

* See page 68, plate XLII; also XLII, No. 2.

end of the drive, which is nearest the pass in the bluff. It is attended by long mounds, which run parallel to it. See Fig.

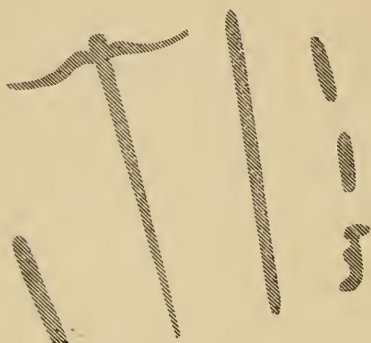


Fig. 56. Bow and Arrow.

56. The so-called bow forms a right angle with the other mounds, the arrow running parallel with them. In our opinion, it represents the crane rather than the bow and arrow. The crane has an extremely long neck, a small body, and very long, crooked wings. The writer has seen effigies of the crane at Lake Monona and Lake Koshkonong. In one case he saw the ef-

figy of the crane and during the same day the live bird. It was a striking coincidence, and the resemblance between the effigy and the bird was noticed at once. The recurved shape of the wings of this bird makes it resemble a bow. The long, tapering form of the neck of the bird gives it a resemblance to the arrow. The whooping crane has a neck similar to this, and when in flight has wings which are curved in the same manner. The effigy was intended in our opinion, to represent the crane, though there is some plausibility in the idea that it represented the bow and arrow. An effigy similar to this has been seen by the writer, on the bank of Lake Monona, near the Shooting Park.

[4.] *The spear or arrow point.* An effigy of a bird formerly existed near Prairie du Chien. [Sec. 4, T. 8, R. 4 E.] This is regarded by Dr. Lapham as a barbed spear or arrow point. It is, however, a bird effigy intended to represent the night-hawk. The wings and tail are both pointed, but the body and wing feathers are wedge shaped as is the case with some kinds of birds. It is the only case where any effigy resembling a spear head has been seen.

II. The second point to which we would call attention is as to the manner of representing the *habits* of the birds. 1. It appears that the builders of the mounds intended to represent the birds as in motion in the air. This is seen, not only in the shapes and attitudes of the effigies, but in an indefinable air which they carry with them. We have already stated that all of the animals are classified according to the elements in which they live, the representation of them in the mounds being such that the classes can be easily distinguished. It must be remembered, however, that the land animals and the amphibious creatures are represented as having feet, their feet and legs

being in the case of the land animals upon one side of the body and the others upon two sides. The birds' feet are never visible in the mounds, the wings being the only distinctive mark. It seems strange that the wings could express the flight of the birds so well, for the earth is a poor material in which to depict so frail and so finely wrought a feature as the feathers of a bird. It will be noticed, however, that the outlined and general shapes of the wings are given with great truthfulness. An illustration of the skill of the mound builders may be seen in the celebrated eagle at Waukesha. See Fig. 57. Here the imitative skill of the artist

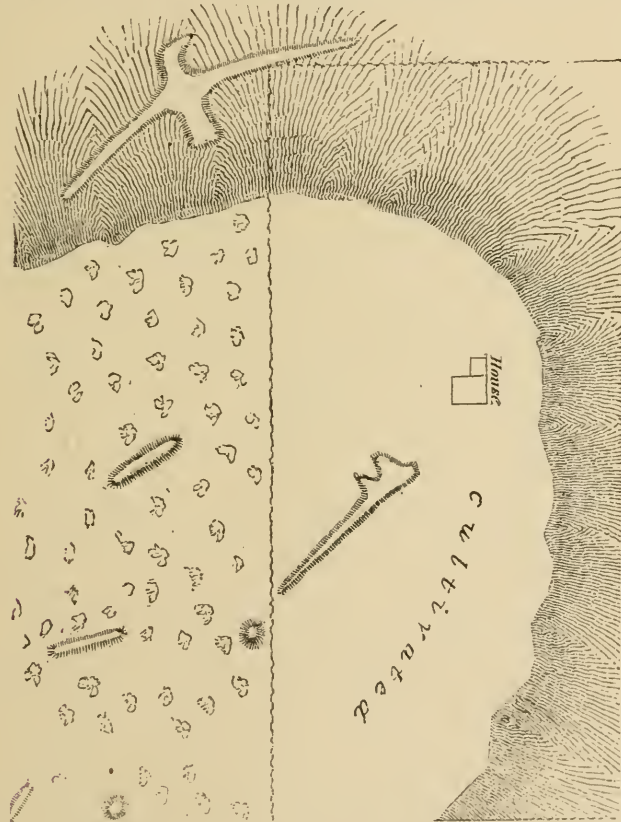


Fig. 57. Eagle Effigy on Bird Hill at Waukesha.

is beautifully shown. The attitude is interesting as it is the one which is natural to the eagle, and shows the shape of the animal while in motion. The eagle is evidently flying or soaring in the air, but is at a great height as the wings are stretched out in a straight line, and the whole attitude expressive of flight. The effigy also conveys the idea that the eagle is taking an outlook while preserving its flight as the shape and position of the

head is suggestive of this. The bird seems to be in an isolated position. It is situated on the side of a hill and seems to be guarding a group of effigies consisting of the wolf and several conical mounds. It is, however, the only bird effigy in the group. The eagle is a bird which is distinguished for its lofty flight and for its extensive vision, and here both these peculiarities are shown.

This peculiarity of the birds may be recognized not only in the eagle, but in all of the birds. All seem to be in flight and the particular method of flight is exhibited by the mounds. There are birds which have a very rapid motion. Such birds are represented and the motion peculiar to them exhibited by the mounds. Other birds have several different styles in flying; they soar high above the earth; they dart rapidly through the air; they roll and tumble in their flight; they drop upon their prey; they arise from their perch, or spring from the water, and seem to vary their attitude with every changing motive. These are generally birds of prey. It is remarkable how many attitudes of the birds of prey are represented in the mounds. Any one who will examine the effigies and notice the different attitudes in which the birds are figured will realize this. There are many small birds which are seen among the effigies. Such birds are oftener represented as rolling and tossing, the peculiar twist and turn of the wing being exhibited by the shape of the mound. The distortion of a bird effigy becomes at times very expressive on this account, as the distortion represents the motion and attitude of the bird. We call attention to a small bird which was surveyed by Mr. Wm. H. Canfield, and which is figured by Dr. Lapham*. Here the bird is so contorted that every part of the effigy has a separate measure and a shape peculiar to itself. One wing raised, and the other dropped at an angle, the head is thrown back, the tail is twisted, and the whole figure thrown into shape as if tumbling or rolling in the air rather than flying. Other birds are seen in attitudes as of darting rapidly, but this is peculiar in its attitude.

2. The gregarious habits of the birds are represented in the effigies. The reader has only to look over the figures to see how often the birds are thus represented. In these figures the hawks are in flocks, sometimes four effigies of them being seen in one group. The ducks are also in flocks, and the peculiar social habits of the birds are shown by the effigies, the ducks being in close proximity. The wild geese are in flocks also, but they pursue their flight either in a line following one another at considerable distances or nearly abreast of one another, but forming the peculiar shape of the drag or letter A. The pigeons are

* See Lapham's Antiquities. Plate XLVIII.

also frequently represented in flocks, but they pursue their flight in a pell-mell method, sometimes following one another, sometimes abreast and sometimes huddled closely together. The different birds are represented as associated together, but when the attitude is given they are driving or pouncing on one another, or driving and being driven. One needs only to look over the figures already given to see how often the birds are thus represented. We give a cut (Fig. 58) to illustrate the gregarious habits of the birds. It is taken from Squier and Davis*.



Fig. 58.—Hawks at Muscoda.

This group was first described by Mr. S. Taylor. It was situated in the village of Muscoda, but has been obliterated by the growth of the village. We quote the language of the author named. "In the group are three figures in the form of a cross (bird); in the center of the largest of them is a depression caused by an Indian cache." "The distance from one end of this group to the other, is about four hundred and sixty yards. The length across the effigies is about two hundred feet." The birds here are of different kinds, a hawk and two birds which are difficult to identify, possibly pigeons. The hawk has an erect attitude while the other birds are in flight.

3. The habits of the birds as birds of prey and peaceable birds are also portrayed by the effigies. It is well known that the songsters are generally peaceable in their habits. The songsters are, however, so small that they are not often recognized in the effigies. The birds which are most easily recognized are the birds of prey. These are the hawks, eagles, owls and falcons. It is remarkable that the birds of prey are often associated with other animals which prowl after their victims and prey upon the living creatures about them, the eagles and hawks being associated with foxes and wolves, while the peaceable birds are associated with peaceable animals, ducks and cranes with turtles and lizards, etc. One group of mounds strikingly illustrates this point. It is a group which was evidently used as a game drive. In this the eagles and hawks are associated with foxes, and are evidently hovering near a drove of elk, both waiting for their prey, the foxes in the attitude of prowling and the birds soaring in the air.

* See Smithsonian — Contributions. Plate 43, No. 1.

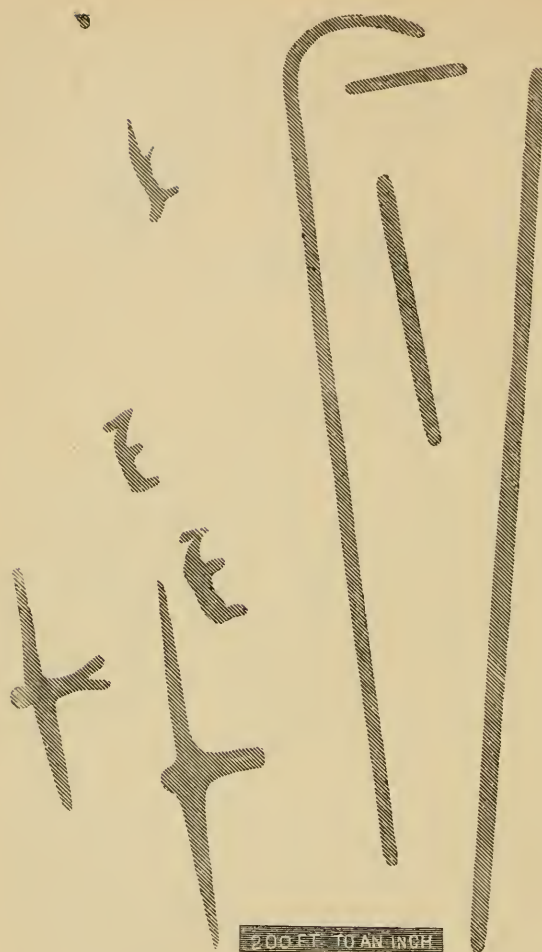


Fig. 59. Birds of prey near a game drive, at Honey Creek — LAPHAM.

We give a figure to illustrate this point (Fig. 59). It represents a group which was surveyed by Dr. I. A. Lapham. It is situated on section 18-19, T. 9., R. 6. E., near Honey Creek Mills. The group is in a valley, between several high bluffs, and is in just such a position as would be best suited for a game drive. The elk was probably the game which was abundant in the region. These bird effigies are associated with the figure of a crane, the crane forming a portion of the game drive. The birds may be recognized by their shapes, the hawk having a forked tail, the eagle

having a square tail and short neck, but the crane having a very small body, a long neck and curved wings. These effigies have been misinterpreted by Dr. Lapham, for the hawk is said to represent a human effigy and the crane a bow and arrow. The same idea of hawks, eagles and other birds of prey being associated with game drives may be seen in the group on Kickapoo river.* Here is a small herd of buffaloes. The buffaloes seem to be feeding, but the hawks are hovering near as if looking for prey among the drove.

* See American Antiquarian. Vol. VI, No. 1, Fig. 3.

4. The habits of the birds, as prairie birds, water birds, and forest birds, are also depicted. This peculiarity is, however, shown by the effigies. It is well known that ducks and wild geese prevail among the lakes of Wisconsin. A group of effigies may be seen near Lake Wingra, overlooking the marsh and lake. There is in the group a wild goose and a duck in close proximity, both flying toward the water, and a long, tapering mound close by which may represent the fish. The habit of these birds is to feed in the marshes. The effigies studied in connection with the locality give this idea. There are several other effigies in the group, such as an eagle and a swallow, and two land animals, all of them arranged on the side hill, parallel with the water, giving the idea that they were placed there as screens for hunters who were watching for geese and ducks which frequented the lake. (See Fig. 12, first paper.)

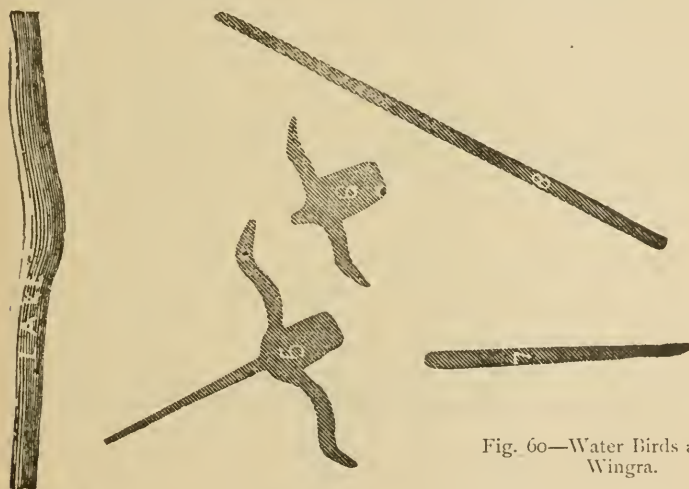


Fig. 60—Water Birds at Lake Wingra.

5. The habits of the birds as conquering and conquered are sometimes depicted by the effigies. In the group at Muscoda, already given, we have the hawk represented as a conqueror over the pigeon. (See Fig. 58.)

In a group at Koshkonong the duck is chasing the swallow, and in other groups hawks and eagles are represented in attitudes as if they were chasing other birds, and still other groups, bitterns and cranes and hawks are in flight, but the habits of the birds may be recognized in nearly all the groups, and the effigies become very interesting on this account. We have already referred to the association of birds with animals having the same character. This is significant, for the habits of the animals seem to correspond, the beasts of prey being associated with birds of prey; the conquering animals, such as the panther, being associated with the conquering birds; the water animals be-

ing associated with water birds (ducks and wild geese), the forest animals (wolves and wild cats), with the forest birds (pigeons and hawks), the prairie animals (deer and buffalo), with the prairie birds.

The habits of the birds are better represented in the effigies than in the cuts, for the effigies seem to have been erected with great care, and the more one studies the shapes, the more does their meaning come forth. If there is a double meaning, this never interferes with that which is perfectly natural. The symbolic is hidden underneath an imitative shape. The great skill was exercised in portraying the attitudes of the birds. No ordinary person could take the heaps of the earth and mould them into shape, so that the effigies could be understood, but here the very character of the birds is exhibited in the shape, so that we read the disposition, the habits, and even the particular intent of the bird pictured before us. It is most remarkable that the attitudes should be so expressive, but when studied attentively they grow in significance.

III. The use, intent or significance of the bird effigies.

We have given the description of the different birds and their shapes and attitudes, and have seen that they were closely imitated by the effigies. There seems to be, however, in many of the bird effigies something more than a mere imitation of birds.

1. In the first place the effigies are so extensive that we must suppose that they had some use. A great amount of labor was expended upon these objects. It seems hardly reasonable, that so much labor would be laid out upon mere objects of fancy. The size of the effigies is worthy of notice. There are bird effigies which reach to the prodigious length of 600, 800 and even 1000 feet. Some of these are associated with artificial ridges, tapering mounds and other animal effigies in groups which cover many acres of ground.

2. *Composite Mounds.* The idea that effigies are sometimes used with a double significance is shown by a unique class of mounds called composit mounds. These are apparently pictographs.

Several composit figures have been described. One was situated on the north bank of the Wisconsin river, and is called by Mr. S. Taylor the "citadel." It is composed of two effigies of birds, one of a buffalo, and three nondescript figures, the effigies forming a sort of fragmentary wall around several conical mounds, making an inclosure of about half an acre in area. The whole group is situated upon prominent ground, and may have been intended as an altar or sacrificial place, as the whole group gives the idea of sacredness as if the effigies were intended to guard the place of worship.

The association of bird effigies with composit mounds may be

seen also at Lake Horicon on either side of the river; in one the wild goose is in close proximity, in the other there is the figure of a battle ax and several bird effigies, while in the centre of the group is the composite mound, consisting of a nondescript figure, an inclosure containing a single mound being formed by the

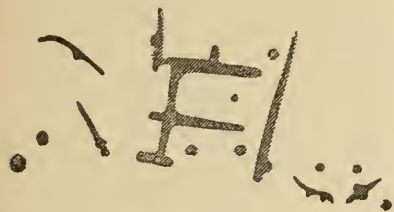


Fig. 61. Composite Mound at Horicon.

various portions of the group. It is not always the case that the inclosures contain burial mounds or altars, for the triangular inclosure which may be seen at Lake Koshkonong has no mound within it. The birds are placed at one side and the fishes form walls on two other sides, but some other purpose than a sacrificial one was the intent of this group.

The figure of a composite mound is given herewith. It was described by Mr. S. Taylor.* It seems to be a combination of two figures, "one representing the buffalo, perhaps, and the other a man" (more likely an eagle). Immediately to the south-west and within 20 feet of this figure commences a series of mounds, mostly conical.



Fig. 62. Composite Mounds.

3. There are certain bird effigies which have evidence of a secondary or symbolic significance. Such an effigy was discovered by Mr. Canfield at Sauk Prairie. It had a mound near the body and under the wing. The bird is represented in the act of flying. The remark of Mr. Canfield is that it may be a messenger bird carrying something suspended from its beak indicating the little mound placed below its wing. The mound is

* See Smithsonian Contributions.—Plate LIV, Page 133.



Fig. 63. Hawk carrying the spirit of the dead.

small, seven feet in diameter and less than a foot in height. Illustrations of this point are given by certain inscriptions.

Dr. Lapham says perhaps the purpose is to represent the bird as bearing to the spirit-land, some person whose remains were deposited in the mound. Such effigies of birds attended with conical mounds near the wing are quite common. Three such effigies may be seen among the so-called crosses. A bird effigy similar to this, but having the wings extended at great length, may be seen on the banks of Lake Koshkonong. Here the bird's wings form with other effigies a long line or wall, a row of burial mounds in the rear of them forming another or a double line of mounds. The mound placed under the wing as if protected by the bird, is, however, a large one, and may have been intended as an altar or a burial place. There is no doubt that a double significance was given to the effigies of this class. The attitudes are natural, but the wings seem to protect the burial or altar mounds, as if birds were guardians or protectors of the dead.

Illustrations of this point are given by certain inscriptions. An inscribed figure from West Salem, represents a bird as springing out from the crescent of the moon. This figure is probably modern, the work of the later Indians. It shows, however, that there was a meaning in the figures. In this case the effigy was designed to represent the thunder bird. The difference in representing the birds by inscriptions, and by effigies, will be noticed. In the mounds there are no legs attached to the bird effigies. In the inscriptions the legs are both marked, even the claws and toes. The topknot is also portrayed, the mouth is open, a peculiarity which is seen in other members of the same pictograph. The

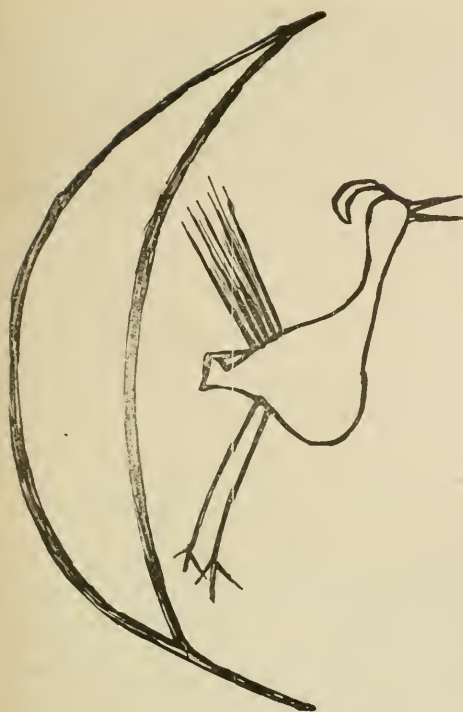


Fig. 63. Thunder Bird.

open mouth is evidently a sign of speech. The symbolic meaning of the bird is evident from all these peculiarities. No such representation of thunder birds have been seen in the effigies. If there are crescents in the mounds, they have not been recognized. The sign of speech is never perceptible among the effigies. There are, however, effigies of birds which seem to have a symbolic significance, and which inscriptions and traditions may assist us in understanding. The thunder bird was very common in North America. It appears in the totem posts of the north-west coast. It figures conspicuously in traditions, and is likely to have been symbolized in the mounds.

5. The evidence that the bird effigies were intended as guards to protect inclosures is given by many other groups. There are effigies of eagles where the wings are stretched out in a line to an unnatural length. The manifest intent being to make the wings serve as a wall. An illustration of this may be seen at Lake Monona in Mills' woods. See Fig. 46. Here may be seen ten or twelve effigies of birds, the effigies being arranged along the two sides of an irregular inclosure, one series of them on the edge of the bank, the other on the summit on the opposite side of the woods. Here one bird has wings extended for six hundred feet. The wings reaching from one group of turtles to another; the turtles being situated where they could serve as outlooks, but the wings of the eagle form with the effigies in front of it a double wall of defense. On the opposite side there are conical mounds, effigies of hawks, wild geese and two long tapering mounds, running parallel with one another, and apparently forming an entrance to the inclosure. The group forms a very interesting series of works as it gives rise to the idea that the effigies were used for different purposes. The eagles for protection, the turtles for lookouts, and the hawks also serving as

guards. It is noticeable that on one side of the enclosure the effigies are placed at the intervals between them and are overlapped by birds, so that there is a continuous wall; on the other side the intervals are left unprotected. The inclosure may have been intended for a game drive or for a village.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ATTITUDES OF ANIMALS REPRESENTED.

In studying the emblematic mounds we have thus far considered them from a scientific stand point, having given especial attention to their shapes, and by their shapes having identified the animals represented. We now turn to another aspect of the subject and propose to consider the mounds as works of art. In doing so we shall give attention to the attitudes of the animals represented and in these find the evidence of artistic skill. It is a very interesting fact that the attitudes of the animals are presented to us by the mounds in a very life-like manner, so that the effigies are exceedingly attractive as works of art. The study of the mounds is in fact like a study of animated nature. It not only brings before us the grand divisions of the animal kingdom and suggests methods of classification according to the haunts and habits of the animals, which are very suggestive, viewed in a scientific light, but it brings before us their peculiar attitudes and positions, which prove attractive to the eye, viewed in an artistic sense. We do not say that they were intended as works of art, or that the builders of the mounds were trained artists whose effort was to make them artistic, any more than we maintain that they were educated scientists acquainted with the classification of science; but this is the fact concerning them, the builders of the effigies were both naturalists and artists who were unconscious of their knowledge and skill, and their works are more interesting because of their very naturalness. It is one effort of art to reach the point of naturalness, so that the expressiveness and simplicity of nature may come forth free from the factitious and artificial appearance. Here, however, we have

a native art which presents this peculiarity to perfection, the skill of the builders having been exercised in the most natural way and the objects wrought out by them coming before us in the most natural and life-like shapes. It is worthy of notice that art existed among the primitive races, and that in some directions it reached a high degree of perfection, even at a very early period. For skill in portraying the animal shapes, the primitive artists were even superior to many of the modern and trained sculptors and painters.

We do not need to dwell upon this point, but would merely say that the earliest specimens of art in all countries have abounded with animal figures, and that the period which may be considered the child-like age of the race has furnished many beautiful specimens of art, showing that there is a natural faculty in the human race, which enables men, even when untrained, to imitate animal forms. The relics which have come to us from rude and uncivilized people often present specimens of carving and drawing which are absolutely astonishing. The early coins of Greece and Troy contain animal figures; the sculptures of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, also contain the statues of animals, which, viewed in an artistic light, are admired by all classes. The specimens of pottery, the carved pipes of the mound builders contain animal figures. The totem posts, carved boats, and the ornamented implements found among the Thlinkets of the north-west coast illustrate the same point. The art of carving animal figures reached a high point among these races. The same thing is true with the inhabitants of Mexico and Central America. The sculptured facades of their palaces abound with animal shapes and the carved idols and images present many animal figures. One explanation of this is that the native races were familiar with animal life, and as they had much imitative skill they were able to portray the animals in a natural and life-like manner. Another explanation is that the so-called animal worship which prevailed among the primitive races, gave them a great admiration for animals, and led them to notice and to be impressed by the shapes and attitudes of the animals. They were regarded by them as divinities, and their moods were considered to be expressive of the mind of the Divinity and conveyed to their superstitious minds great awe and fear. This fact throws light upon the specimens of art with animal figures which have come down to us from the early and primitive times. A comparison between the carved bone implements taken from the caves of Europe with the bone implements found among the Esquimaux proves that the primitive races were skillful in drawing animal shapes. The same conclusion, we think, will be reached by our readers when they come to see how skillful the emblematic mound-builders were in the same work. The writer has come in contact with native artists at the west, and found that their

skill in depicting animals was perfectly natural, and noticed that it seemed easy for them to not only draw the shape of an animal but to give it an expressive attitude. Travelers and early settlers who were in this state while the Indian races were still inhabiting it, have also informed the writer that they have seen the bark huts or wigwams lined on the inside with animal figures, the figures being very life-like and showing that the natives had great skill in drawing. We do not consider then, that the animal effigies prove any high degree of cultivation, even if they are artistic in their shapes, but they are interesting, as they bring before us the native artists in all their unconscious skill and make us to see how familiar these artists were with animal life. We do not think that there was any set rule by which the effigies were erected or that any established order or style of representing the animals existed; for everything seems to be perfectly natural, and the perfection of the artist is that they were so artless.

The attitudes of the animals illustrate a point worthy of notice. The animals come before us as illustrations of animated nature and the scene becomes as full of life almost as if the animals were restored to the native haunts. Nothing can present to us a greater variety nor a more interesting study than the effigies do. The several points to which we shall refer will illustrate the artistic skill of the emblematic mound builders. Our readers will, however, consider that this skill is not to be brought before them by pen or paper. The descriptions which we shall give are mere hints. The skill exhibited by the artists can be appreciated only by examining the effigies themselves. There are effigies in existence which retain the original shape and symmetry, and such convey an idea of artistic beauty which is not given by the ordinary specimens. We are aware that many, who look upon the effigies obliterated by time as they are, and in the midst of the works of civilization, fail to see the resemblances to the attitudes of animals which we have described, but these descriptions are not taken from obliterated mounds, and are not based upon the imperfect data with which many come in contact. Familiarity with the mounds from childhood has given the writer an idea of their symmetry, which few get by passing observation. When we speak of the attitudes, we speak not so much from what we have seen in any particular locality, but from what we have seen in many localities, so that the points which we make are perceptible to us while they are imperceptible to others. We do not think the descriptions overdrawn or the resemblances imaginary.

I. The first point to which we refer is the variety contained in the attitudes of the animals. We furnish a series of cuts to show how the different animals are made to assume a great variety of attitudes. The series might be

indefinitely increased, for if there is one thing more perceptible than another in the effigies, it is this, that the attitudes are so varied. We confine ourselves mainly to the land animals, and give only a few specimens of these. There is, however, scarcely a group of effigies in the state in which new attitudes are not perceptible, and we therefore only hint at the point, and refer our readers to the mounds themselves as illustrations. The descriptions and figures are based upon an accurate and careful survey.

The writer has found by experience that the plotting of the mounds by actual measurement, always brings out the attitudes of the animals, and has frequently corrected his own drawings by a second measurement. We take the bear as a specimen, but would say, there are many other effigies which illustrate the point even better than the bear. We find that there are five or six attitudes in which this creature is represented, each effigy being expressive of some attitude which is natural with the bear.



Fig. 65.

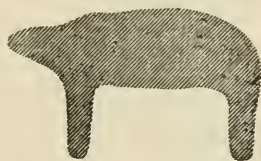


Fig. 66.

The shape of the animal, is natural and life-like, but the attitudes exhibit the various dispositions or moods of the bear, showing that the artists were familiar with all the habits of the animal and were very skillful in representing them.

Some of these figures are taken from the works of Squier and Davis. One was situated in Richland county, and was first described by Mr. R. Taylor. It was fifty-six feet long and twenty



Fig. 67.



Fig. 68.

inches high. The second was discovered at Blue River, on English Prairie. It was eighty-four feet long and six feet high. The third was discovered by Dr. I. A. Lapham. It formerly existed at Honey Creek, and represents the bear as in the attitude of climbing. The fourth was found by Dr. Lapham, at Otter Creek. The effigy does not resemble the bear so much as the other fig-

ures, and yet was intended to represent one attitude of the animal. The fifth was also discovered by Dr. Lapham, and was found by him at Sauk Prairie.* A similar effigy has been discovered by the author at Lake Monona. The sixth was described by Dr. De Harte. It was found by him on the Asylum grounds, north of Lake Mendota. These are all isolated effigies, and cannot be said to have any other use than as representations of the animals, though it is possible that they were employed as totems. The bear was a common totem among the native races, and its form was often used in native heraldry to indicate the clan or tribal connection of individuals or families. The effigy of the



Fig. 69.



Fig. 70.

bear placed on the ground near the residence of some chief or prominent person, may have represented the totem or clan sign of the chief, very much as the totem posts found in the northwest coast, and among the Aleutian Islands do at the present time. This may also explain the attitudes of the animals as they are seen in the effigies. We know that pictures of animals were frequently placed on the grave posts, and that the attitudes of the animal became expressive of the incidents or events in the history of the individual. There are many illustrations of this. Schoolcraft has given cuts representing the totems of the Sioux and Chippewas. He says: "The grave board contains the symbolic, or representative figure which records, if it be a warrior, his totem; that is to say, the symbol of his family or surname, or such arithmetical or other devices as seem to denote how many times the deceased has been in war parties, and how many scalps he has taken from the enemy, two points on which the reputation is essentially based." The attitudes of the animal, then, were probably significant, and the variety of the attitudes is worth noticing on this account. We need only to remember that the natives had the same love of approbation that civilized people have. If they could not record their deeds by written language, they could, nevertheless, make them known by pictures. We may conclude the animal shape as expressive of the clan or tribal connection, and that the attitudes were expressive of personal history. The effigy was a totem

* See Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. I, Plate XLIII. Also Lapham's Antiquities.

showing the tribal connection, and a symbol showing what divinity had appeared to the chief in his dreams. It would also represent the legend or traditionary record of the individual, and would serve as a sort of picture writing, which to the native eye would be expressive of the life, character and history of the individual. There are effigies of this kind which were placed in the midst of village inclosures. They apparently serve no other purpose than to mark the spot where some person had once dwelt, and where possibly he was buried.

As an illustration of this point, we would refer to a locality near Madison. Here, on the ground formerly owned by Gov. Washburn, is what we have taken as the site of an ancient village, the walls surrounding the place giving indications to this effect. There are at this place various effigies, which are scattered over the surface of the ground, without regard to their use, either as defense or lookout, giving the idea that they may have been totems in front of some habitation. Among the effigies so situated is a bear, a bird, two rabbits, two lynxes and a panther. See Figs. 71 and 72. Some of these effigies



Fig. 71 — Panther and Lynx. Lake Wingra. PLET.

are situated on the edge of a swail, indicating that they were used as partial guards, but others, those of the rabbit and hare, are situated in the midst of the so-called village. The attitudes of the effigies are all of them indicative of a peaceful condition. The panther crouches as if at rest, the bird soars in the air, and the lynx stands quietly, every effigy having the same expressive attitude, the indication being that village life was here enjoyed. The totems of the village were placed at the very doors of the houses, as if they were enjoying the security and the villagers were themselves partaking of their peaceful mood.

The ancestor worship which prevailed, would account for the location of the effigies. It was a superstition among the natives that the spirit of the dead remained near the grave, and great care was taken to appease the spirits and to keep them at peace with the living. There was also an endearment which led to the burial of the distinguished dead close by the living. A sense of protection was secured by the presence of the effigy of some prominent person. The emblematic mounds were frequently burial mounds, and, as such, were at times scattered indiscriminately over the surface of the earth. This, then, is the first use of the effigy to which we would refer. Confirmatory of this we might speak of the great number of effigies which are thus found scattered about without any apparent order or intent.

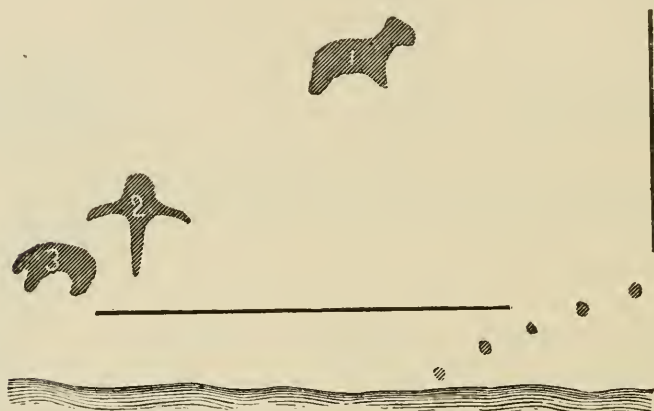


Fig. 72. Bear and Rabbit at Lake Wingra.

We take an illustration of this from the survey of Mr. W. H. Canfield, who was an early settler in the state, and a great student of the emblematic mounds. He has depicted a group of effigies which formerly existed on the banks of the Baraboo River, close by the village of Baraboo. See Fig. 73. It is a remarkable group, but has now nearly disappeared. It will be noticed that in these localities a great variety of animals is portrayed and that the animals are given in a very different attitudes. The four-footed creatures abound here more than birds. Among these the most prominent are the weasel

NOTE. This cut illustrates the difficulty in getting the attitudes of the effigies. The rabbit and the hare are both represented in effigies at this place, but the measurement and plotting failed in the first instance to give the attitudes of the animals. A future paper will contain figures of these effigies from measurements, and it will be seen from them how skillful the native artists were in depicting the attitudes of these animals. The rabbit is so difficult to portray, that Dr. Lapham always failed to even recognize the animal. We claim to have recognized the animal by the shape and the attitude but we have failed in depicting these in the drawing.

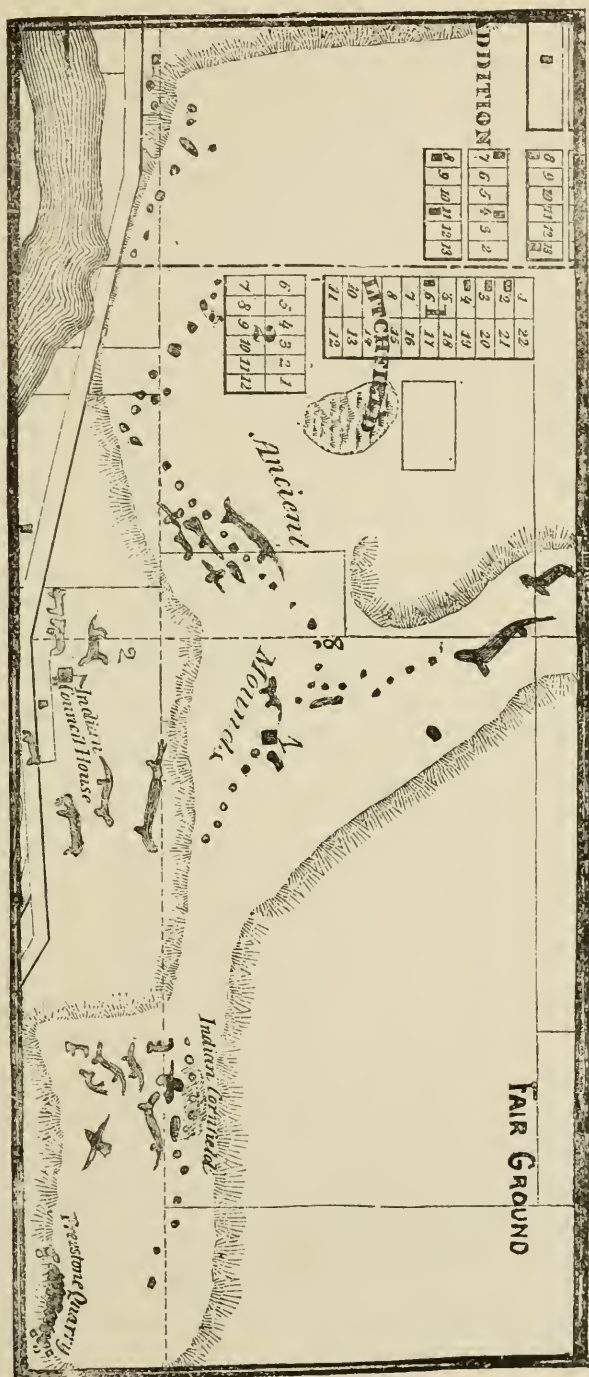


Fig. 73. Animals in different attitudes at Parahoo. CAMPBELL.

and the fox, though the buffalo and panther may be recognized. It is noticeable that the weasel is found in more diverse attitudes than most other animals.* Perhaps the shape of the animal itself favors this. The author has found the weasel in several localities; one on the banks of Lake Wingra, on the Washburn place; another on the north bank of Lake Mendota, east of the Insane Asylum. Mr. Canfield has located an Indian council house in the midst of one group of the effigies, and judging from the locality, we should say that it may have been not only the site of a council house, with the modern Indians as he has described it, but also the place where the Mound Builders themselves had a council house. The arrangement of the effigies on the banks of the stream beneath the bluff and near the burial places is worthy of attention. It is possible that some significance was given to the effigies and that they served as a kind of picture writing, a tribal record being given by them as well as the tribal signs. It would seem from the number of the tumuli, that these effigies were personal totems, and it may be that the attitudes of the animals were intended to convey an idea as to the persons who were buried. The shape of the animal would give the tribal sign but the attitudes would give the personal names. Burial mounds have been found having the shape of animals. One such was excavated by Prof. Putnam. This was situated at La Crosse, and is described by him as having the shape of a turtle. Another burial mound having the same shape, was excavated several years ago by Prof. Eaton of Beloit College, and Mr. Heg, now editor of the Geneva Herald. This was situated near Beloit amid a group of effigies, all of which were probably burial mounds. This group is prominently situated on the summit of a hill overlooking the Rock river, and is not distant from the group which may be seen on the college grounds. The totemic character of the effigies is one which seems to correspond with the habits and customs of the native tribes, and is a reasonable explanation of the variety of animal shapes and attitudes. One of the most important points in connection with the native religion was the doctrine of the spirits of the

*NOTE.—The author visited the locality during the summer of 1883, in company with Mr. F. W. Putnam and J. Kimball, and discovered a few of the effigies in the group, but found that a large proportion had disappeared. The group represented in figure 73 is on Mr. Remington's farm, and adjoins the town plot east of Baraboo. A street passes through the group and nearly all of the mounds have been obliterated. Those who visit the group will notice how the line of the street has cut across and taken out the most prominent figures, leaving only the weasel and the bird. The drawing by Wm. H. Canfield settles the point which the writer maintained in reference to the animal intended by one of the figures, namely the weasel. It illustrates the fact that familiarity with the effigies trains the eye to a quick recognition of the animal intended. We maintain that an ordinary surveyor is unfit to enter the field and to give a proper representation of the animals. Mr. Canfield is a surveyor, but he is familiar with the mounds, and his representations are entirely reliable.

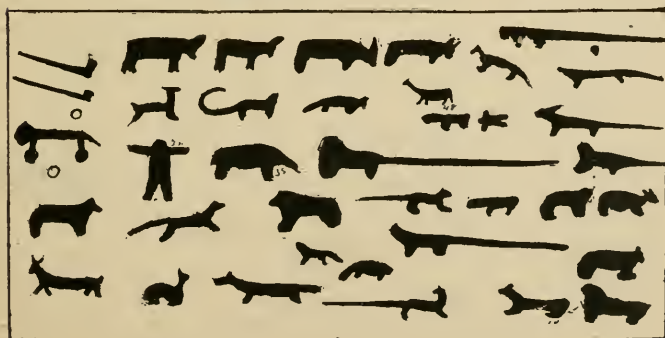
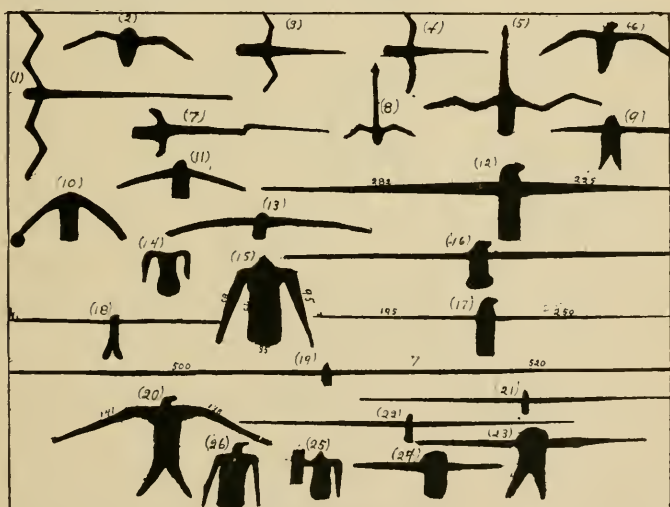
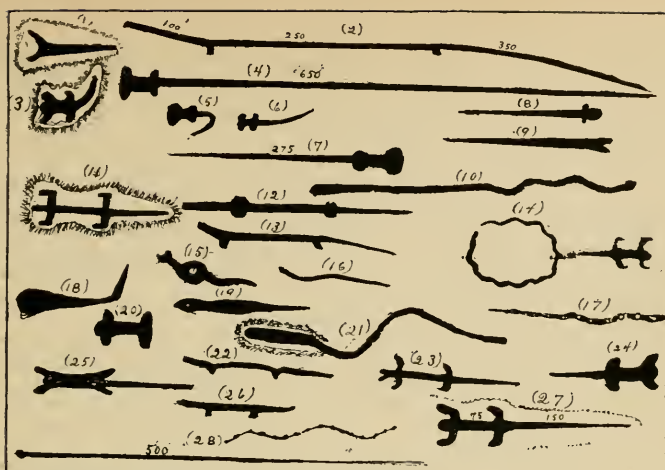
dead. The natives supposed that the animals were ancestors and that they had great control over their destiny. The totems were then expressive, both of the tribal organism and of the tribal ancestry. Along with this notion of an animal ancestry, there was connected another, namely, that of a divinity. The animal divinities were supernatural creatures, who ruled in the realms of the spirit. They were not only divinities, but they were also the spirits of the dead. The doctrine prevailed that the spirits of the dead entered into animals or took animal shapes. The rudimentary form of all religion, Mr. Herbert Spencer says, is the propitiation of dead ancestors. The custom of worshipping the dead was common. One of the most important religious ceremonies of the Ojibwas was the feast of the dead, in which they kindled a fire at the graves, and burned meat as sacrifice to the dead. The Virginians also worship the manes of those buried in their tumuli.

There is no doubt then that the presence of the animal effigies in connection with the burial place was significant of the religious faith and that the custom of erecting these effigies sprang from their animal worship. Perhaps this will explain the care with which the effigies were constructed. It is remarkable with what skill the effigies were shaped. This skill is mainly exercised in depicting the attitudes. A soul or spirit was thrown into these so that the effigies became very expressive. The religious faith expended itself upon these works, but the faith apprehended the spirit and sought to delineate it in the effigy. Animal spirits were worshipped and feared, and whatever could express that spirit had great power over the people. There is no doubt then that the attitudes were made to illustrate the spirit of the animal. This gave a naturalness to the attitudes. The people were very impressible. The religion which they had, made them so, even if they were not naturally impressible. The skill of the artist is in his impressibility and in his power in reaching or effecting the impressibility of others. The natives were on this account true artists. Just as the religious emotions in the times of Raphael and Guido gave such a wonderful charm to the face of women, the mariolatry of the period having almost apotheosized womanly beauty, so in this period of animal worship and demonolatry the religious sense gave a wonderful expressiveness to animal shapes.

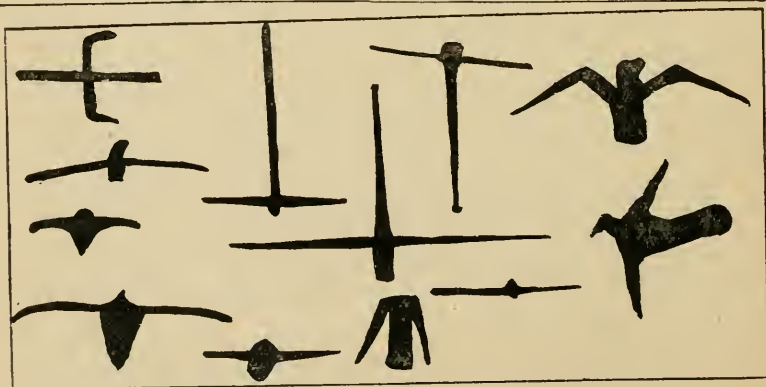
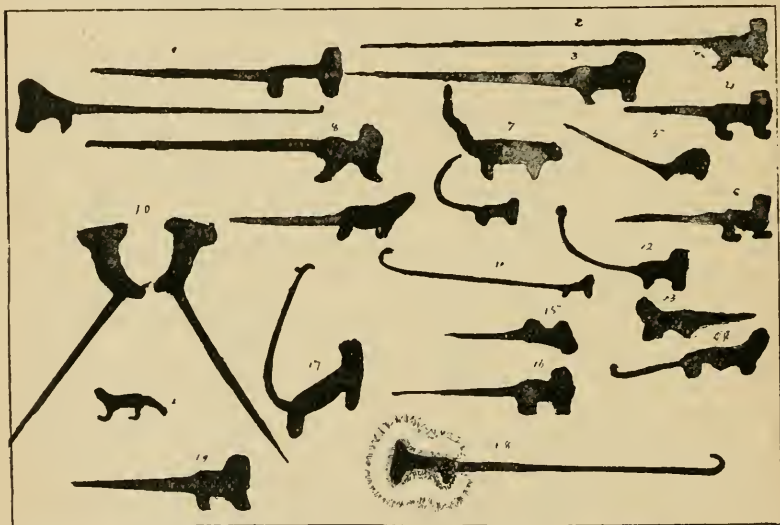
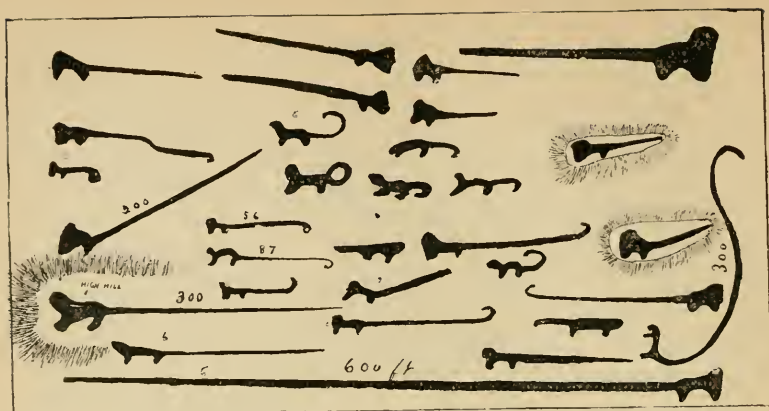
The wild sons of the forest were more impressible than we. True children of nature, they drank in the spirit of the scenes. Their untutored mind had no knowledge of Divinity, except as they saw it in the forms of nature. In a sense, the earth itself was a Divinity, just as it was to the ancients, the great mother Demeter ruling over all, while the sun, as the father, was the over-shadowing power. To them there was a soul in everything; every cloud that cast its shadow across the sky, every change

that came upon the blue-waved lake, every season that left its foot-step in field or forest, was but the varied movement of their great Divinity. The smiling meadow, the darkening forest, the rustling leaf, everything in nature was expressive to them. We may, however, find the same impression; the scene remains and the effigies bring back the animals to people the scene.

As a picture of animal life, these groups are worthy of study. It is like entering into the haunts of the animals and observing them as they move and act in their natural conditions. The attitudes are not conventional, and do not present the animals in stereotyped manner, but a wonderful freedom is displayed. The artists have great skill in throwing spirit and life into the attitudes of the animals. They are none of them constrained or unnatural, but they move before us in all their native force, each animal acting out its own disposition, and each attitude having some apparent intent before it. It is very interesting to go into the midst of these effigies to see how varied every attitude is, and how true to nature every shape becomes. The scene is alive with animals, every animal being represented in the most expressive attitudes. These attitudes both represent the natural pose of the animals, either as rampant or as crouching, as prowling after or pouncing upon their prey, as either antagonistic in conflict, or as victim and victorious. One sees the bird in flight, chased by one deadlier, or soaring peacefully with outspread wings, or again as darting through the air, or occasionally with weary wings lagging in the flight. The crane has the crook in his neck which the hunter knows to be peculiar to the crane; the night hawk swoops in the way peculiar to that bird; the pigeon flies with sharp, quick wing; the eagle soars with stately measure; the wild geese fly in flocks or follow one another in line; the hawk chases his prey with savage bill; the king bird hangs close to the weary wing of the long winged heron or crane. So too of the other animals; the turtle crawls up from the channel of creek or river, and rests on the brow of the hill, or stretches neck and tail on its very summit. The lizard spreads out his crooked legs and narrow body and tapering tail; the tadpole almost wiggles before one's eyes; the bull-pout flops his tail, and his crooked body lies panting on the hill; the snake twists his narrow body along the ridge; the otter lies with snout protruded ready for his slide; the fox creeps stealthily; the mink drags his long and slender body along; the crawfish spreads his claws, and the skeptical critic stands and says where did you see all this? It may be seen, nevertheless. The attitudes are indeed the most expressive and important part of the animal forms. These attitudes were the expressions of the spirit of the animals as they were known, but they were also expressions of something more. If the mounds had any significance this imitation itself conveyed the meaning.



SPECIMENS OF DIFFERENT EFFIGIES.



SPECIMENS OF DIFFERENT EFFIGIES.

It is not possible that all these thousands of elaborate and massive forms were designed only for the fancy and as a plaything thrown upon the top of the earth. There is too much variety and too much expression for this. The attitudes then, had a significance as well as the forms. There was the work of imagination in the attitudes, but it was probably an imagination controlled by their superstition. We come to the religious significance of the mounds and say, did we know more of this we would know much more of the significance of the forms.

There is one peculiarity about the animal effigies, and that is that the artist and the hunter were united in their construction, and they present to us animal life in all its natural state, and with the very wildness which once existed. This has, however, departed, and therefore the picture given by the mounds is the more valuable. Sportsmen spend days and weeks upon the banks of these lakes, but they rarely become familiar with the habits of the animals. A few may come to understand in a very limited extent the habits and ways of the birds, but the wild animals have so departed from the region that supreme ignorance prevails concerning them. A menagerie may bring a few animals from distant countries, and imprisoned and constrained as they are, they are looked upon by the crowds. In the zoölogical gardens, birds and wild beasts are less constrained, but even here we see very little of the true nature of the animals. The collecting of the animals according to locality, so as to correctly represent the fauna of our country, is a work which must necessarily interest intelligent persons. One of the most attractive features about the Centennial exhibition was that in the Colorado building. Here was a collection of the wild animals which abound in that state, the animals all being represented as they were seen by the huntress in their natural haunts. The collection was prepared by a woman, and proved how near to nature's heart a woman may become when she enters into the real spirit of nature.

This method of studying the animals has not been followed as thoroughly as it deserves. Naturalists, as a class, are not acquainted with the habits and haunts of the animals, and are poor in their representation of animal life. They understand the anatomical peculiarities, and can describe the physical structure of the animals, but artists are much better acquainted with the attitudes and moods. The native hunters, however, were artists as well as naturalists. They differed from modern sportsmen in that they became familiar with the very haunts of the creatures which they portrayed. They followed the animals and entered into their inmost life. Their zeal was expended in tracking the animals to their inmost hiding place. The more intractable the animals were, the more their ardor was aroused. The inmost principle of wildness was understood by them, and

corresponded to that of the animal. The mound builder was a hunter. He knew all about the animals. There was a sympathy between him and the creatures which he depicted. There is no doubt that there was an admiration for the very form and attitude which led to the shaping of the effigies. The effigies are of colossal size and have great artistic excellence and originality. They are unique and true to nature. A sculpture gallery is furnished by these earth forms which is unequalled by any works of art. We only need to divest ourselves of the impressions which the fields and houses make, to feel that it is a gallery full of life and one which conforms to the scenery. "The artist understood how to translate pose into meaning and action into utterance, and selected those poses and actions which convey the broadest and most comprehensive ideas of the subject." "He not only knows the posture or movement, the anatomical structure of the animal renders possible, but he knows precisely in what degree such picture or movement is modified by the animal's physical needs and instincts." There is a subtle and deep meaning to the effigies. At first there is the simple animal, too simple to be artistically interesting, but upon further study a deeper meaning appears in the attitudes. "The simple animal avouches his ability to transcend any conception of him. The instinct and capacity which inform all of his proceedings, the sureness and efficiency of his every manifestation are in the shapes, but they are concealed from a hasty glance by the very perfection of their state. Once seen and comprehended, however, they work upon the mind of the observer with an ever increasing power. They lead him into a new, strange and fascinating world, and generously recompense him." Very few understand what perfection there was originally in these colossal figures, carved out of the earth and covered with the green sward. They seem to move under one's feet. Artists occasionally enter the wild fastnesses of the west, and become familiar with the wild animals, that they may represent them in works of art. Painting and sculpture have both been devoted to the representation of animal figures. Such artists as have given attention to this subject have been admired. The paintings of Catlin are known and admired because of their excellence in portraying animal life. The government has purchased these at great expense and placed them in the museum, where they are safe. The recent review of the statuary by Kenney, in a popular journal,* has called attention to the beauty which the animal figures and attitudes that the animals have when shaped in bronze, but here we have in the earth-molds animal figures which are life-like and true to nature as any artist can make them, and yet we are careless in reference to their preservation, and their destruction is inevitable. As works of art and pictures

* The Century for May, 1884. Article by Julius Hawthorne.

of the native fauna we think these figures are invaluable, and make our plea that they be preserved. It always seems a great pity to have them disturbed. The wear of the elements has a tendency to destroy the sharpness of their outlines, but it did not take away from the wildness or naturalness of the attitudes. The plow and the spade are the great disturbers of nature. The relic hunter is the iconoclast. Utility and curiosity have invaded nature's art gallery and have made sad havoc. The images are many of them destroyed.

II. We call attention to a second point in connection with the attitudes of the animals. The distinguishing peculiarity is that they have a hidden significance, and were expressive of the superstitious views with which the people regarded the animals.

The significance of the attitudes may not be understood, but when viewed in connection with the moods of the animals and especially with relation to the office which they served they become expressive of a hidden meaning. The moods of the animals are depicted in the attitudes presented by the effigies, but these moods are expressive of something more. It is interesting to go from group to group, and to see how expressive every effigy is. If the language or intent may not be read or understood, the animal attitudes at least prove attractive to the eye. The moods of the animals are exhibited—not by a single group, for it is seldom that the same attitude is repeated more than once, but passing from group to group we see the different moods. In this place the effigy presents the animal in a standing posture, quiet, symmetrical, and with a poise which is expressive of the animal's strength. In another the creature is in conflict, either confronting an animal of the same kind ready for battle or in the attitude of conflict, such as would be most natural to the species or perhaps as triumphing over the enemy and driving it from the field. In another place the attitude is expressive of motion, every part of the animal giving the idea of fleetness, as if the creature was in the midst of a chase. Such effigies are generally found in connection with groups which are supposed to have been used for game drives. In other places the animal is seen in the attitude of prowling, the figure having a peculiar, stealthy appearance with the limbs bent and every part strained for close attention. In other places, still, the same animal may be seen, resting, the body and head and limbs all being in a relaxed and restful state. In other places the effigy will be seen standing guard over the caches which are placed near its head or presenting its massive sides as a defense to an inclosure, the wall to which is composed in part of its figure. Everywhere the attitude of the animal is most life-like, but the mood and spirit are depicted in a very artistic manner.

We present a series of cuts to illustrate these points. We have taken the panther as the specimen best calculated to represent

this. These effigies have been noticed and their shapes and attitudes studied by the author, and the figures are here presented from actual surveys. They are not the works of imagination, for they are drawn according to actual measurement. The figures are taken from widely separated localities, but they are given as they were found.

It should be said that effigies are generally found to differ in different localities, some localities presenting panthers numerously, but others presenting some other animal with the same prominence. A ruling divinity is always confined to a locality. In one place it may be the eagle, in another the turtle, in another the panther, in another the wild goose, and in still another the raccoon or wolf. The attitudes of the animals will be seen, not in any single group, but by studying the various groups, as all the groups are characterized by the presence of the ruling divinity, one group furnishing one attitude and another another, the whole series giving a history of the Divinity or showing how varied his moods were. The figure presented on Fig. 74, is an effigy which was discovered by Dr. Lapham, at Waukesha, on Bird Hill. It presents the panther in an attitude which is very common.

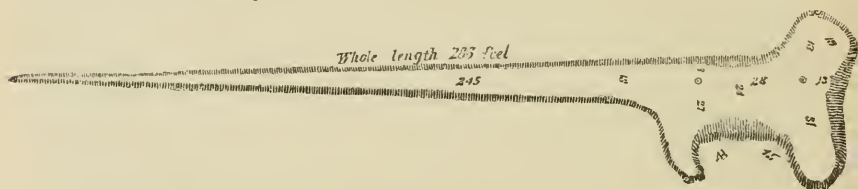


Fig. 74. Panther at Waukesha — LAPHAM.

The author has seen effigies of the same kind in many localities; one at Great Bend, serving as a guard or part of a village wall of defense; others at Madison forming portions of a long line of effigies, which surmounts an elevated ridge near the cemetery; another, having the same attitude, is a member of a group which abound with panthers, situated near Beloit. This attitude is the one which may be regarded as expressive of strength, and it is often, accordingly, seen in connection with the works of defense, as it is appropriate for such works.

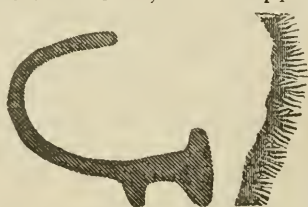


Fig. 75.

A second attitude is given by figure 75. This is also a common attitude. There are several localities where the same figure has been seen by the author, and Dr. Lapham has mentioned still other places. One such panther formerly existed at Kilbourne City, on the Wisconsin river. The body of the effigy has been destroyed in the

grading of the street, and the tail is all that is left at the present time. Another figure similar to it, formerly existed at Burlington, on the Fox river.* This has been destroyed. The attitude is expressive and one that is natural to the panther, the tiger-like disposition being very manifest in it. The figure is one of a group seen at Ripley Lake. Here, as in all other cases, when seen in this attitude the animal is placed on an eminence and evidently was intended as an outlook; the animal, from his position on the summit of the bluff overlooking the lake, suggesting this idea. The third attitude is one where two panthers are seen in apparent conflict. These effigies were discovered on the banks of Ripley Lake. Fig. 76. The significance of the attitudes will be understood from the figures. Two others

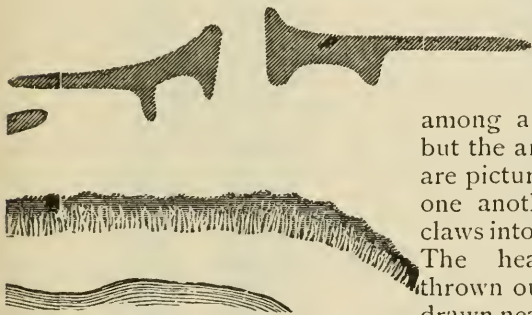


Fig. 76. Panthers in conflict at Ripley Lake.

resembling them may be seen on the banks of Green Lake. There are panthers in conflict among a group near Beloit, but the animals in this group are pictured as parallel with one another, thrusting their claws into each other's bodies. The heads and tails are thrown out, but the hind legs drawn near together. A fourth attitude is one represented in Fig. 77. Here the large panther is in the attitude of triumph. His shape contrasts with the other, both, however, having shapes which are very natural and expressive. This is the figure which has been visited by so many of the attendants upon the Monona Lake Assembly, as it is on ground belonging to Mr. Griffith, not far from the Lake Side.

The attitudes of the animals are unique, and express much as to the moods of the creatures pictured.

A fifth attitude of the panther (see Fig. 78) is the one which has been referred to above. It represents the animal as in the act of running, and the connection of the effigy with a game drive would indicate that the intent was to represent the panther as in a chase after game. This effigy was discovered by the author on the west bank of Lake Koshkonong. It forms one of a very interesting series of effigies, among which is the tortoise, another panther, and several other animals. A similar effigy to this has been seen by the author near New Lisbon, on the banks of a small stream, and not far from the site of an Indian dance ground.

* See Lapham's Antiquities, Plate xiii.

It is attended with a peculiar group of mounds, which to the author seemed like a trap for ensnaring game. The attitude of the animal is here varied, in that it was expressive of a certainty of its victim, whereas in the other case the attitude was expressive of great haste, and a determination to overtake the object of pursuit. The animal in both cases is represented as running

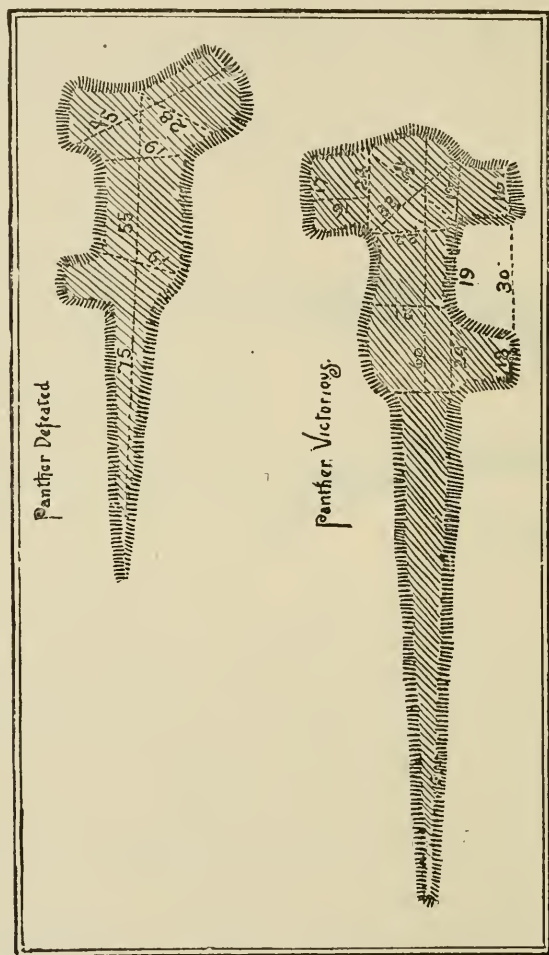


Fig. 77. Panthers at Lakeside. FEET.

rapidly, every part of the effigy giving force to this idea. A sixth attitude of the panther is that given by Fig. 80. We will not undertake to interpret the purpose or significance of the effigy. It is an attitude which is natural to the animal, and one which is not uncommon in the effigies. The figure was taken from a plate drawn by Dr. Lapham. Another figure similar to

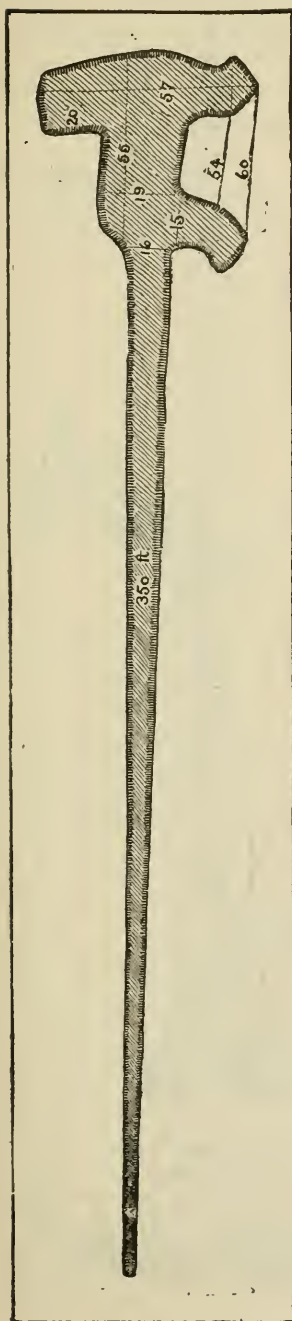
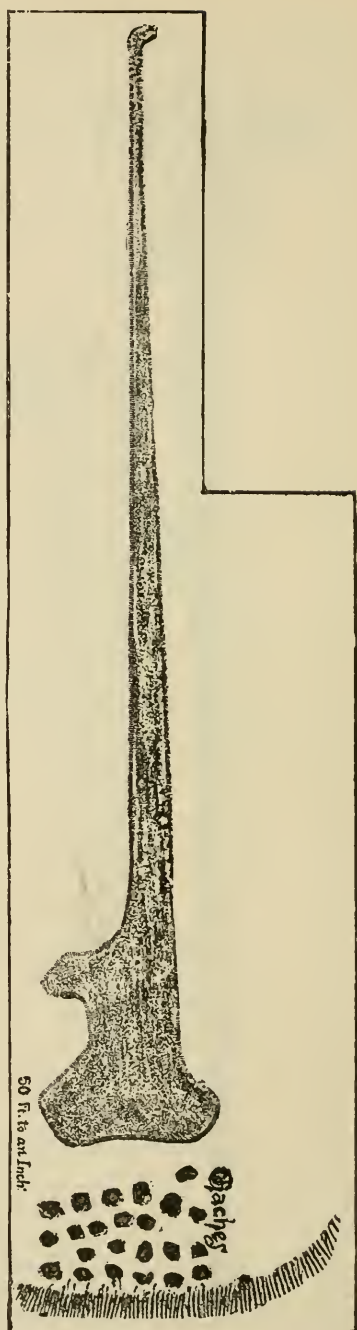


Fig. 78.

this has been furnished by the same author, but the animal is therein watching a mound where was a cache of grain, indicating that the purpose was to represent the animal as guarding the stores of grain which had been hidden away by the native builders. Another attitude of the panther may be seen in Fig. 70. Here the panther is at rest. This effigy contrasts with the other figures, and yet it compares with the animals surrounding it as the effigies in this group are as we have stated, all in a peaceful mood, their very attitude expressing rest. We have been particular in describing the attitudes of the panther, because this animal is always very prominent among the mounds. There are localities, to be sure, where the effigies are more numerous than in others, but the effigy seems to have been a prevailing one throughout the whole state. The panther is very prominent in the vicinity of the four lakes, and it will be noticed that most of these specimens have been taken from this region. The seventh attitude is shown which is here presented in Fig. 79, and which is seen to be in an entirely different attitude. This figure was discovered by the author near the site of an ancient village, at Great Bend. The purpose of the effigy was, evidently, to protect the grain which had been deposited in the pit or caches near its head, the superstition of the builders having given to the animal figure a charm which made it powerful as a protector, as well as an object of fear and adoration as a divinity.

There is one point to which we would call attention in this connection — the office which was served by the attitude. Each animal seems to have had an office, the office being expressed by the effigy, the attitude in which the animal was represented corresponding to the office. That there should be a double purpose in the attitude is not a mere matter of fancy with the author, for there are too many indications of it in the effigies. It appears that the builders of the effigies exercised their skill in depicting the various moods which they had come to recognize as peculiar to each animal, but they associated these moods with the character of their divinities, so as to make them expressive. Every totem which they erected had its natural attitude and its supernatural significance, the attitude representing the mood of the animal, but the office served by the effigies representing the supernatural power of the divinity. One illustration of this is here given. The buffalo is an animal which is commonly represented as feeding. The effigies of the buffalo are frequently found in meadows or in bottom lands, the attitude and the locality both being expressive of the grazing habits of the creature. There is one place, however, where the buffalo is presented in an attitude which is far from peaceful, every part of the animal being made expressive of a belligerent state. In the midst of the effigy, wherever the limbs and

Fig. 79. Panther watching caches of grain at Great Bend. PEET.



tail would leave a vacant space, there were placed the caches, in which the stores of grain were hidden. The object of the effigy seems to have been to represent the animal as ready to hook and drive off any one who might approach the caches, the position of the head and tail and legs all giving the same idea.



Fig. 80. Panther.

The storing of the grain in such an effigy as this, with the idea that the animal could protect it, may to us seem childish, but to the primitive people it was a powerful conception. Fear was the prevailing emotion and whatever might raise a superstitious fear would serve as a guard and protector. The buffalo represented as guarding the caches of grain referred to above is situated at Lake Wingra, not far from the site of an ancient village, and adjacent to a ridge where were the burial mounds which belong to the village. The place where the effigy was built was surrounded by long lines of burial mounds and by various effigies and straight ridges, but the figure itself is isolated. It is an inter-

esting effigy, both because of its peculiar shape, and because the double significance of the attitude of the animal is perceptible in it. The effigy represents the particular mood of the buffalo when enraged, and is very expressive of danger, but the office work of the animal is exhibited by the caches hidden away more than by the attitude itself.

III. A third peculiarity of the attitudes of the animals is their usefulness. It appears that the animal effigies are sometimes strangely distorted, the skill of the builders having been exercised in making the distortion expressive and at the same time useful. There are many animal effigies which have this peculiarity. Panthers are represented in effigy, but their bodies are unnaturally prolonged. Birds are represented in life-like shapes, but their wings are distorted, drawn out to a great length. Turtles are presented in their natural shape, but their tails are prodigiously lengthened. These distortions give rise to the idea that these effigies were designed for use. The imitations of nature could never lead to any such result. Great skill is exhibited in making the distortions retain the shape of the animal, but the skill was also exercised in making the effigy serve a

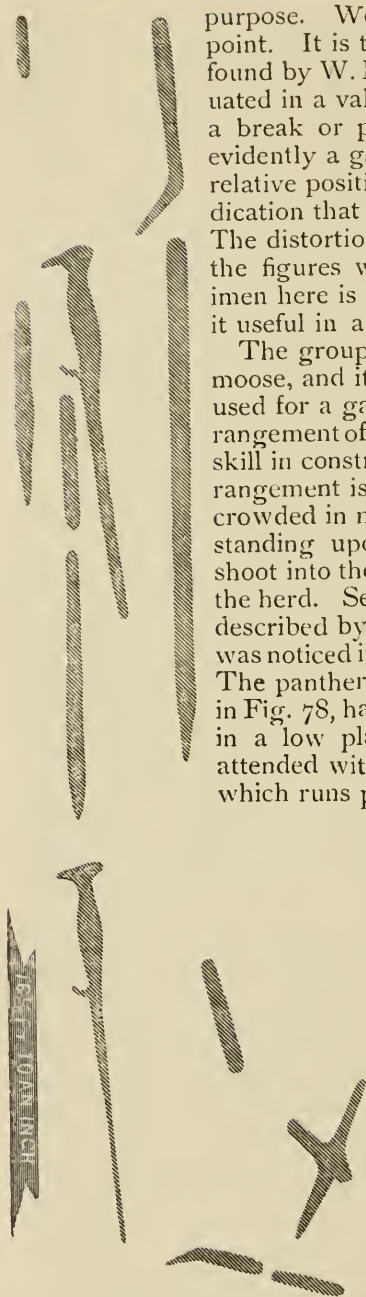


Fig. 81. Game drives containing distorted effigies of panthers near Honey Creek.

purpose. We present a figure to illustrate this point. It is the figure of a group which was found by W. H. Canfield, at Honey Creek,* situated in a valley beneath high bluffs and near a break or pass through the bluffs. It was evidently a game drive, as the location and the relative position of the mounds give every indication that such was the purpose intended. The distortion of the effigies will be seen from the figures which are here given. The specimen here is a panther distorted so as to make it useful in a game drive.

The group was attended by the effigy of a moose, and it is probable that the locality was used for a game drive for a moose. The arrangement of the mounds indicates considerable skill in constructing traps for game. The arrangement is such that the animals would be crowded in narrow openings and the hunters standing upon the top of the mounds might shoot into them and carry great slaughter into the herd. Several such game drives have been described by Mr. Canfield. The same feature was noticed in the group on Lake Koshkonong. The panther, whose effigy has been presented in Fig. 78, has a tail 350 feet long. It is situated in a low place in the line of the bluff, and is attended with a long tapering ridge or mound which runs parallel with it, the two forming a drive or runway for the animals which might be driven across the bluff toward the lake. A similar game drive containing effigies with distorted or unusually prolonged bodies and tails, has been seen by Dr. Lapham, at Great Bend.† Here the effigies are panthers and turtles combined. There is but one tapering mound in the group. The game drive was here formed mainly by the effigies, the distortions of the animal figures having been such that they served the purpose of walls or long ridges. There are other purposes that distorted figures may be supposed to have served, but here the use is plain. These distortions of the effigies are interesting, as they prove not

* See Lapham's *Antiquities*, XLVII.

† See Lapham's *Antiquities*. Plate XVIII.

only that a subtle significance was given to the animal figures, but that practical utility was an object in erecting them. As an evidence of the usefulness of these ridges as a game drive or as a screen against the attack of animals, we give an incident which happened to an early settler. A Mr. Meggs, living at Arena, on the Wisconsin river, was out with his gun one morning when he came upon a bear. The result was that he was thrown into a panic and fled to the first place of refuge. Fortunately there was one of these artificial ridges near by. Hiding behind this, his trepidation gradually wore off and as the bear came near he actually shot and killed it. The use of the effigies for game drives is enhanced by the distortion. It makes the effigies longer so that they serve the same purposes as long mounds or ridges. It seems strange that the mound builders should have resorted to this expedient, but they evidently had a superstition that their animal divinities would aid them in shooting game or would protect them from the attacks of animals while they were hunting them. There was a combination however, of a mechanical contrivance with a superstition or charm, and their safety was owing as much, no doubt, to the contrivance as to the supernatural power.

The distortion of animal figures was not used solely for the purposes of the hunter. There are many effigies which seem to have served the purpose of defense as well as those of the chase. In some cases there was a combination of uses; hunting, defending villages as well as fencing garden beds and places of cultivation, for there are many effigies where all of these purposes could be served. We find distorted images of panthers in game drives, and we find also huge images of panthers surrounding village inclosures, the sides of the panther forming a wall of defense. In other localities we find the eagle, similarly situated, the different attitudes of the eagle having different offices; one shape appears as a guard to a village, another appears to have been used as a screen for hunters, still another served as a fence or guard to protect the fields, and still another as a guard to the burying places. The distortions of the eagle are as numerous as that of the panther. We give illustrations of this point.

There is a region where the eagle abounds in effigy and serves a more prominent office than any other effigy. This is on the Wisconsin river, near Muscoda. Here the author has discovered game drives, with the eagle unnaturally distorted as the essential part of the group. In the same vicinity there is a village site, the inclosure being surrounded by eagle effigies, each effigy, however, having its natural shape. In the same vicinity, burial mounds are guarded also by the eagle. Illustrations of this point are given, taken from a locality which has been visited by W. H. Canfield, who surveyed the

mounds at an early day, before the effigies were destroyed.

That the office of the eagle was that of a guard in game drives, as a defense to village inclosures, and as a wall to protect the passes in bluffs, may be seen from the specimens of distorted effigies. The wing of the eagle is sometimes represented as unnaturally distorted. We have referred to this in one case before. In the group of effigies at Mills' Woods, we noticed that the turtle effigies were placed as look-outs, that being their usual office. We noticed that the wings of the eagle stretched from one group of turtles to another, they having been unnaturally prolonged in order to make them extend the whole distance, the object of the extended wing having been to furnish a single unbroken wall of defense across the whole face of the bluff, other bird effigies in front of the eagle having only partially served the same purpose. There are many other places where bird effigies are seen in distorted attitudes, the wing being unusually prolonged. One such effigy has been seen by the author on the east bank of Lake Koshkonong. Here the bird effigy is attended with a long line of burial mounds, but the bird is situated between the burial mounds and the lake shore, the wings extending in front of the tumuli throughout the whole length

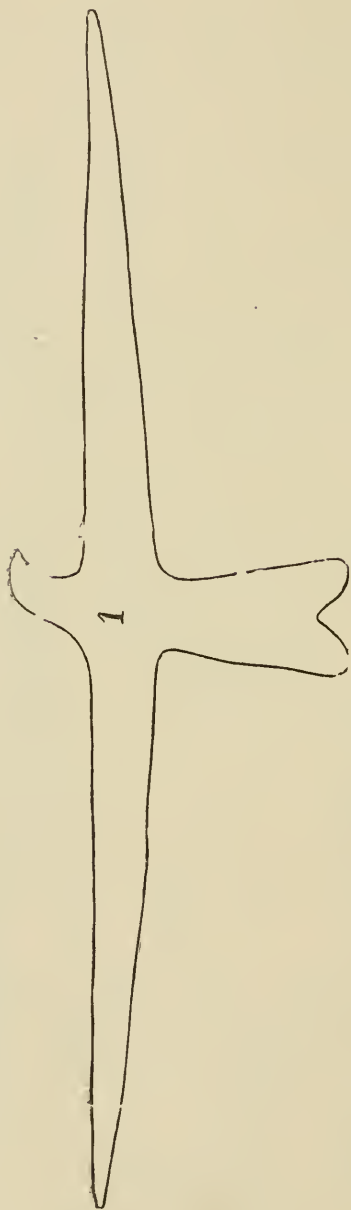
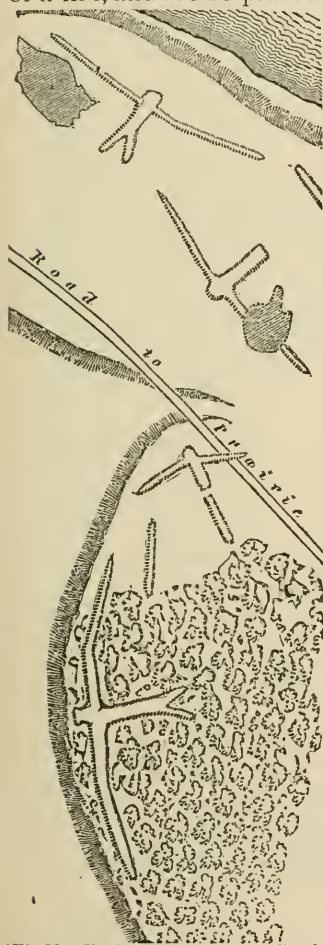


Fig. 82.

of the ridge. The length of the wings is here some 250 feet, one wing being nearly twice as long as the other. A similar bird effigy, with wings extended 1,000 feet, has been seen by the author on the banks of a small stream near Muscoda, the intent of the builders evidently having been to make the wings a substitute for a wall. Eagle effigies are not always distorted when used for defense, for at times three or four eagles will be placed in a line with the wings extending from one to another. The office of the eagle is, however, generally one of defense and the position of the effigy as well as the distortions of the wings frequently shows this purpose. Illustrations of this are given in the following figures.

In one locality the wings of birds form a barrier along the edge of a hill, and are so placed that they serve as a guard to the hill



[Fig. 83. Eagle effigy at Honey Creek Mills.

and as a guard to the pass up the bluff, which intervenes between them. This group has been described by W. H. Canfield. Fig. 83. It is situated at Honey Creek Mills, on the edge of Sauk Prairie. Dr. Lapham says, "On the east side of the creek commences a series of earth works of a very interesting character. The principal figure in the form is a bird, with a forked tail. They are on the margin of a beautiful level plain, a part of the great plain or prairie, called Prairie du Sauk. Several excavations made in building the dam have destroyed several of the works. The illustration of the group is here-with given.

It will be noticed that the eagles have their heads in opposite directions, but always toward the point of approach. One of them is placed on the bank of the stream and guards the bluff in that direction. Another is placed near a break in the bluff and guards the pass at that point. Still another overlooks the pass and protects the bluff on that side. A fourth, which is the largest of the group, has its wings extending to a great length along the brow of the bluff, and prevents approach from that side.

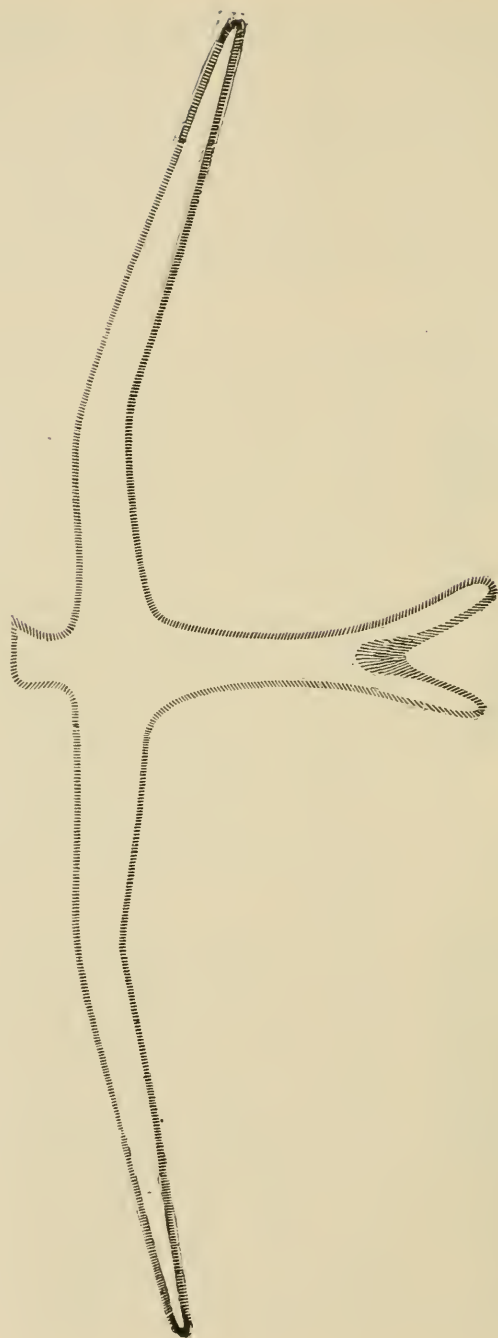
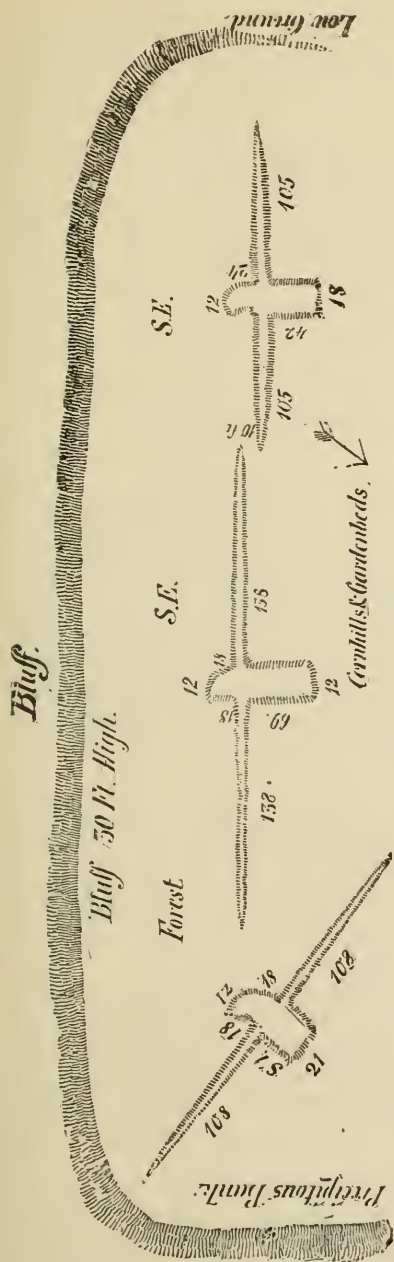


Fig. 84.

Other effigies were also arranged along the bluff beyond. There is no doubt that the intent of the group was to protect the village from approach by way of the stream. The immense size of the effigies indicate this as well as the situation.

In the vicinity of Muscoda there is a group of eagles, the most of them, however, having their wings partially expanded. They surround an inclosure which evidently was once used as a village site. On one side of the inclosure the effigies are placed with their wings parallel, forming a fragmentary and uneven line or wall. On the other side the eagles have their heads and bodies in a line, the wings forming the wall. No other effigy than the eagle is seen near the inclosure. There are a few long, straight mounds, which serve to protect the village.

The eagle is the effigy which guards



the place. The approach to the village is also guarded by eagles, for the banks of a stream which heads near the village site has eagles stretched along nearly its whole length until an extensive marsh is reached. These eagles, which guard the approach along the stream, are, however, built with their wings extended. One of them has wings nearly a thousand feet long.

Another place where eagles have been noticed having the purpose of defense is at the foot of the dells of the Wisconsin river. Here the writer in company with Professor F. W. Putman and J. Kimball, discovered three eagle effigies, a figure of which is given. The eagles were stretched along at right angles on the bluff of the river, itself forming a wall between the river and a swail and guarding the bluff from approach. Within this wall the ground seemed to be broken as if there had been garden beds or corn fields. Possibly the effigies were designed as a fence to protect the corn fields. This was on the farm of Mr. Eaton. There were other mounds about a half mile north of the line, but they had been obliterated and could not be surveyed.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE EMBLEM-
ATIC MOUNDS.

One of the most noticeable things in connection with the emblematic mounds is that they are so often expressive of a religious sentiment. The question has often arisen whether this sentiment was not the real motive which rules in their erection, and whether we may not consider the shapes of the animals which are presented in effigies as the result of a peculiar form of religion to which is to be ascribed the imitations and resemblances found in the mounds. This view of the subject brings us at once to consider the religious character of the effigies, and so we take up the inquiry whether this cannot be ascertained from a study of the mounds.

The sources of information on this point will then mainly engage attention. These sources we shall discover in the mounds themselves, although many suggestions may be derived from a comparison of these works with the symbols and customs common among the living races. We consider that the effigies are the symbols of a religion which was once very powerful, and therefore we are to study the religion in the effigies.

We shall draw our information from four sources: 1st. The location of the mounds. 2d. The peculiar conformation of the effigies to the surroundings. 3d. The relative position of the effigies. 4th. The contents of the mounds. With these as our sources of evidence, we shall put the inquiry, what that religious sentiment was which prevailed, and how this affected the mound building itself.

1st. The first point which we shall consider will be the location of the mounds, but along with this we raise the question whether this is not to be ascribed, in part at least, to a prevailing *nature worship*. The location of the mounds may indeed have

been owing to other motives than the religious sentiment, for we often find a variety of uses served by it. In certain cases we find that the effigies were erected for signal stations, their location suggesting this idea. This is in accord with the customs of living races, for there is no custom more common than for them to locate sentinels on high points so that they may give warning of the approach of an enemy or may signal to the people residing near by the presence of game. There are many spots where mounds were erected with this object evidently in view, for the position of the mounds is such that the outlook from the summit is most extensive, whereas if the mounds had been placed even a few feet distant the view would have been lost.

Another object is apparent in the location of the mounds, and that is that they might serve the double use of beacons and burial places. This seems to have been a custom among mound builders generally and has been noticed in many cases among the emblematic mounds.

A third object can also be traced, namely the location of the residences of the people. It was a custom among the Mandans and many other tribes, to locate their villages upon high bluffs, where the extensive view of the river and valley can be gained. There are many places where this seems to have been the object with the emblematic mound builders. A fourth object is perceptible, namely, that of defense. This we have referred to, and have pointed out many localities where effigies seem to be placed as guards to passes in the bluffs. These four uses have been discovered and they seem to be common.

Yet notwithstanding all this we maintain that the religious one was the chief motive which ruled in the location. As proof of this we would refer to the fact that the effigies are so connected with the scenery as to give the idea that there was a kind of nature religion which prevailed among the builders of them.

We have already said that the effigies present a picture of the mental habits of the people; but we are here to show that the location of the effigies as connected with the scenery suggests a motive entirely different from any which we have mentioned. We believe that the builders were in that state where the effects of scenery upon the mental habits of the people were most powerful, and that this became in a sense a religion to them. There may have been, and probably was, with this people, the same sense of beauty which we ourselves have, and we may suppose that the location of the effigies was owing to this motive; but the point which we are to prove is that this sense of beauty and admiration of the scenery was a part of religion. It is difficult for us in our artificial state, to re-

alize this, and yet if we could put ourselves into the condition of the wild and uncivilized, we might see the force of it. A native impressibility was the chief feature of the people. A strange mixture of material symbolism, of religious tradition, of tribal customs and of wild life is manifested in these works.

We have seen that the emblematic mounds contain figures of the animal divinities which this mysterious people worshipped, and that they picture before us the superstitious and religious conceptions which ruled, but there is that in the locations of the mounds which convinces us that their divinities were closely associated with the natural features of the earth and that they thus became remarkable exponents of nature worship. The most eloquent and expressive thing of all is that these emblematic shapes everywhere haunt us with their presence. The streams and lakes, hills and valleys, woods and prairies, are overshadowed by their images. It seems strange that the people should have formed such conceptions, but especially strange that they should have impressed their conceptions upon the works of nature. The animals were divinities to them, but the animal effigies were placed most conspicuously upon the face of the earth and made to figure as symbols of these divinities.

There was in these effigies the union of the three elements the conspicuous location, the animal semblance and the supernatural power. It was this singular superstition which seized upon the most prominent points of land and there placed the figures of their animal divinities and made them preside over the scene by a supernatural power. It is impossible to go from group to group of these strange effigies and see how closely they are associated with the natural features without realizing that there was a religious conception which exalted them to a level of a supernatural presence. There is a vast amount of significance in these silent heaps, for they suggest not only the skill of the builders, but also the religious habits and traits of the people. A primitive symbolism finds here an embodiment illustrating the fact that this is one of the earliest methods which religion had of expressing itself.

The mere description of certain mounds, according to measurements and the printing of diagrams, as illustrating the shapes of the effigies, proves to be a very small part of the record, for this very feebly gives the idea which prevailed in the minds of the builders, and leaves out altogether one essential element, namely, the religious motive. A description of the topography and natural scenery is better, for this shows how closely associated the mounds are with the scenery, and reveals something of the love of nature which prevailed among the builders.

The thought which we draw from a close study of the effigies in connection with their location is that they embodied a sys-

tem of nature worship which was very powerful, and that this was one motive which ruled in their erection.

This is confirmed by tradition. It is noticeable that primitive races were all very impressible to scenery. Mr. Charles Leland speaks of the Algonquin myths as if they were of historic origin, and compares them to the Eddas; but the Eddas and the myths both illustrate the point, to which we refer. The scenery of Norse land may be recognized in the Norse myths, and the scenery of New England can be recognized in the Algonquin myths, but both show that scenery is a very essential element in mythology.

Locality always leaves its mark on native tradition, and native myths also leave their marks on localities. We should know from the New England myths that the people who held them were residents of the seashore, for the animals which are made to figure in these myths are animals peculiar to the sea. We know that they dwelt in a region where were rocks and romantic scenery, and that they were a people who were influenced by this peculiar scenery. Their traditions are many of them, localized, the rocks often being made to symbolize their myths. It is singular, however, that the myths which fix upon scenes in nature are those which remind one of the animal divinities which were worshipped. The figure of the moose and the turtle and other animals have been recognized in certain strange and contorted figures in the rocks and mountains, and myths have been connected with them, the myth having evidently been made to account for the resemblances.

This is not peculiar to New England. We learn from Rev. M. Eells, Rev. S. Jackson, D.D., and others, that the tribes of the north-west coast have many of their myths connected with the different objects in nature, such as mountains and valleys, streams and rocks, showing that with them there was a tendency to throw an air of religion over nature. The same thing has been illustrated by Dr. Washington Matthews, in his article on Navajo Myths. Here the animals are all associated with the different localities, the animals and the scenes of nature having been regarded with a peculiar sentiment which makes history and religion identical. We present this, then, as a proof that the emblematic mounds were regarded in a religious light, the scenery and the animal shapes both proving the different elements in the prevalent nature worship.

The Chinese have a peculiar superstition which is worthy of notice here. It is called in English *geomancy*. The idea is that the scenery is haunted with certain spirits, which are the spirits of nature. In other words, there are supposed to be certain occult influences in nature, which affect mankind. They prevail over earth, air and water, but particularly the hills and streams. These influences come into connection with human destiny by

gliding along the summits of hills, through valleys, into groves, or over tall trees, and in general by any extended object in the landscape. This geomancy is with them closely allied to ancestor worship. If the grave of an ancestor be located at such a point as to command these hidden forces and compel them to blend in harmonious and favorable action, that tomb will be a fount of prosperity to succeeding generations, but if the tomb be not correctly located, adversity will inevitably follow. Thus we see that superstition has much to do with the location of graves, and that this is an element which fixes upon scenery as the chief source of inspiration. We maintain that if this was so common among living races, it was also common among the prehistoric people, and to one or the other of these superstitions may we ascribe the locations of the effigies by the emblematic mound-builders.

II. The conformation of the effigies to the shape of the ground is suggestive of animal worship. So strong was this tendency to people the scenes of nature with their divinities, that it led to the transformation of the forms of earth by the aid of art into shapes which should represent the animal divinities to the eye, but the transformation indicates that there was prevalent among the builders a primitive animism which also connected itself with animal worship, and so combined the two faiths in one.

There are many places where the effigies are conformed to the shape of the ground so that the natural and artificial are hardly distinguishable, both combining to represent the animal figure. There was a strange commingling of earth and animal in one combined shape, the hand of man having transformed the natural shape into an animal figure, and making both together to serve as a representative of the divinity which was worshipped.

The suggestion of the particular shape which should be given to the effigy would come from the natural conformation of the ground, but the embodiment of the shape would be completed by the work of art. It is strange that so many figures should have been placed upon the surface of the earth bearing so close a resemblance to the configuration of the soil itself, but it would seem as if the intent of the builder was to make everything in nature expressive of divinity. There are places where the hill top has an effigy upon its summit, the contour of the hill being brought before the eye as suggesting the shape of the effigy itself, but the effigy, by its skillful conformation to the shape of the earth, turning the hill-top into an animal shape and making it expressive of the animal divinity. We give a cut to illustrate this point (Fig. 85.) The locality where this group of effigies is found, is near the city of Madison. Here the ridge which intervenes between the two lakes, Lake Wingra and Lake Mo-

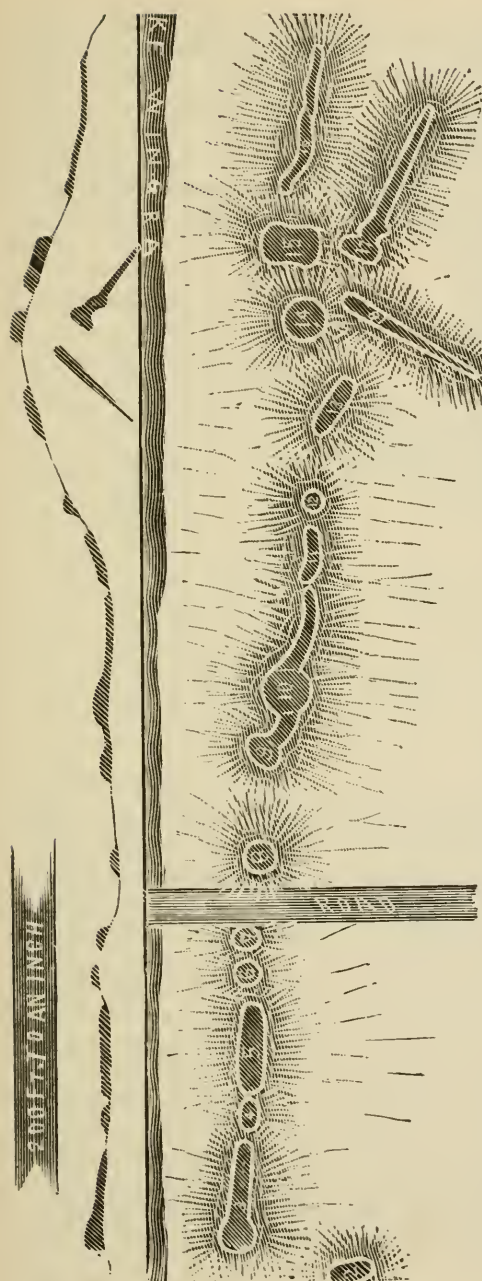


Fig. 85. Mounds at Lake Wingra.

nona, is a peculiarly grotesque and contorted one, rising above the surrounding land and thrusting its summit high into the air, so as to be a noticeable feature in the entire landscape. This contorted ridge the Mound builders siezed upon as a place on which to erect their effigies. The ridge is covered throughout its entire length by a series of mounds, each of which has its peculiar prominence, from which a view of the surrounding country can be gained. Many of these are ordinary burial mounds, and do not differ from others except that their place must have been chosen with the express object of obtaining an outlook or view of the surrounding country. The point to which we would call attention especially, is that in the center of this ridge there is a group which is composed of several effigies surrounding a central burial or altar mound. A description of this altar has already been given and we refer to the group mainly to illustrate the conformation of the effigies to the shape of the earth. It will be noticed that several of the effigies and

especially the eel (18) or serpent, the panther (17), the nondescript figure (10), and the war club (3), are closely conformed to the character of the ridge, showing that there was an intent to make both the natural and artificial shape to embody the animal effigy. We refer to it here only as illustrating a conception which is novel, and as proving that the effigies had at times, at least, a religious significance. There are several other localities where the same singular freak

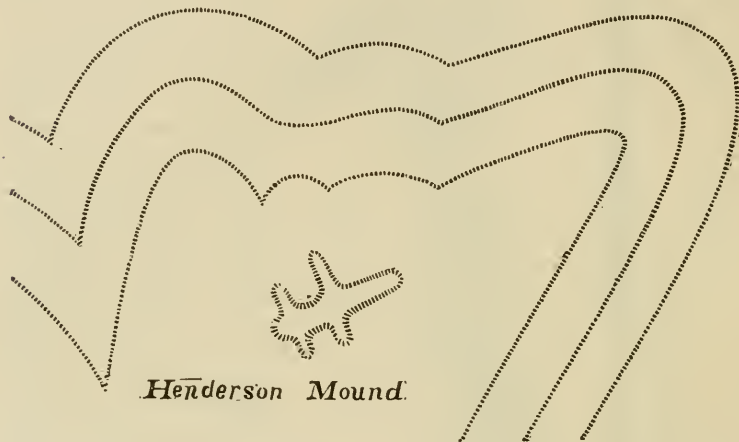


Fig. 86. Mound and Bluff at Beloit.

of fancy, if it can be so called, is exercised. At the east end of Lake Monona there is a series of emblematic mounds which illustrates the point (See Diagram 6.) This locality we have described before,* but we refer to it again so as to represent the mounds in their connection with the topography. It will be noticed that the shape of the effigies and the shape of the ground closely correspond. These effigies are situated on the edge of the water, and are moulded to the surface of a series of sand ridges or knolls so as to give the knolls and the mounds, shapes resembling animals, the mounds and the knolls both combining together to bring out the figure. Another illustration of the same point may be found near the city of Beloit. Here the effigy is a lizard, and the object seems to have been to make the shape of the lizard conform to the shape of the hill on which it was erected, so as to bring out the contour of the hill top and show the animal resemblance which was recognized in it. Fig. 86.

* See Am. Antiquarian, Vol. VI, No. 4.

The best illustration, however, of the point, is seen at Great Bend. Here a hill, which is visible at a great distance, has an effigy on its summit, a cut of which is given in Fig. 87. This is near the brow of the hill an like the preceding specimens is so closely conformed to the contour of the hill as to give the idea that the shape was chosen because of its resemblance. See also Diagram 7.

This is in accord with the sentiment and character of the native races, and is what would be expected from the people who erected these mounds. There are traditions among the

later tribes which show the religious sentiment to be the most powerful. This sentiment leads them to fix upon the prominent features of the landscape, and to invest them with a peculiar awe and sacredness. It is said that among the tribes who formerly inhabited the island of Mackinac, there was a superstition in reference to the island that it was haunted by a great turtle divinity, the shape of the island being in the shape of a turtle, and giving the idea that it was the sacred haunt of this great turtle. Schoolcraft and other travelers say it was the custom among the natives to present their offerings to this divinity as they approached, and that the island was in a manner regarded as sacred. Lieut. D. H. Kelton, U. S. A., makes known the fact that the name of the island signifies in the Algonquin tongue, "the big turtle."

A similar superstition also fixed upon a bluff in the island which, especially when seen at some distance, resembled a rabbit, and the name Sitting Rabbit was applied to the bluff. Lieut. Kelton says the Indians were in the habit of offering a sacrifice in the form of tobacco strewn on the water when passing that point on a journey, supposing that a spirit presided over the neighborhood. There is no doubt that the effigies

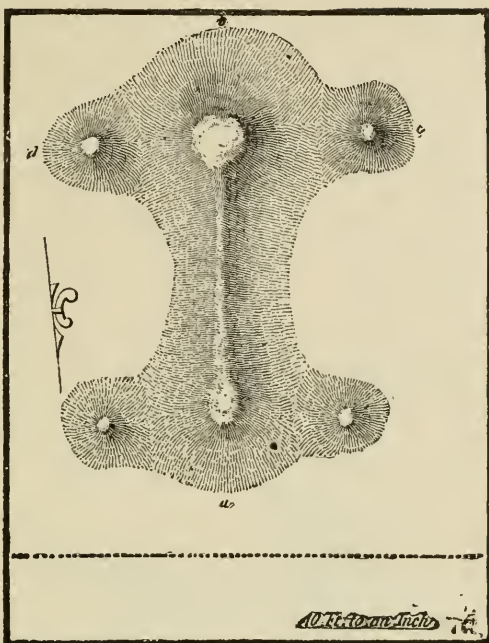


Fig. 87. Altar Mound at Great Bend.

were erected at times to commemorate these beliefs, and by this means perpetuated the traditions which had gathered about the various localities and made the prominent features of the landscape, in a manner, sacred. The traditions, have, however, been lost, and we have only the effigies preserved to show that similar religious beliefs prevailed among the mound-builders of this region. It should be said, however, that the cultus which prevailed among the emblematic mound-builders was such as would favor this peculiar superstition.

Among the earliest of religious beliefs is that of Animism or nature worship. Next to this in the rising scale is animal worship, and following it is sun worship. Animism is the religion of the savage and hunter races, who are generally wanderers. Animal worship is the religion of the sedentary tribes, and is peculiar to a condition where agriculture and permanent village life appear. Sun worship is the religion of village tribes and is peculiar to the stage which borders upon the civilized. It is a religion which belongs to the status of barbarism, but often passes over into the civilized state. Now, judging from all circumstances, and signs we should say that the emblematic mound builders were in a transition state, between the conditions of savagery and barbarism, and that they had reached the point where animal worship is very prevalent.

This habit of fixing upon the scenes of nature, and transforming them into animal divinities is evidence, in our opinion, that the old superstition that nature was possessed by a spirit had given way to the idea that animals were the objects of worship and were to be regarded as totems or divinities. The idea that localities were haunted by divinities was, however, still retained and there is no doubt that many of the effigies which surmount the hill-tops perpetuated their local traditions and were reminders of these divinities to the people which inhabited the region.

III. We now reach a third point, the relation of the effigies to idolatry. The question arises whether the emblematic mound builders ever erected effigies as idols and regarded them as objects of worship. Idols are generally isolated, and so the answer comes to us from the relative positions of the effigies. It is a singular fact that nearly all of the effigies which have been discovered in other states are isolated, but in this state the cases are rare. There are to be sure, many localities where effigies are arranged so as to form a sacred enclosure, and there are evidences that in these enclosures religious rites were practiced; but it has not yet appeared that the effigies were themselves thus isolated and made objects of worship. This is an interesting point. The location of the effigies sometimes gives the idea that a superstitious awe was felt toward them as if they were divinities presiding over the scene, but it also shows that the effigies were devoted to familiar and practical

uses, the divinity serving both as a guardian divinity and as a watchtower or lookout for the people. It is to be observed that the cases are rare where an effigy is isolated and kept at a distance, as if it were too sacred for approach. This custom of erecting single effigies on isolated hill tops, where they could be seen, but owing to the distance and isolation could not be approached, was, we may say, common in other parts of the country. It appears that the two effigy mounds found in Ohio, namely, the serpent and the alligator, were thus situated. The alligator mound was erected on a high hill, and overlooked the whole valley where are the works which have been noted as the most extensive and complicated of any in the country, namely, those at Newark. Fig. 88.

The location of this effigy at the head of the valley, on so prominent a hill top, would indicate that it was regarded with superstitious feeling, and it may have been considered as a guardian divinity for the whole region.

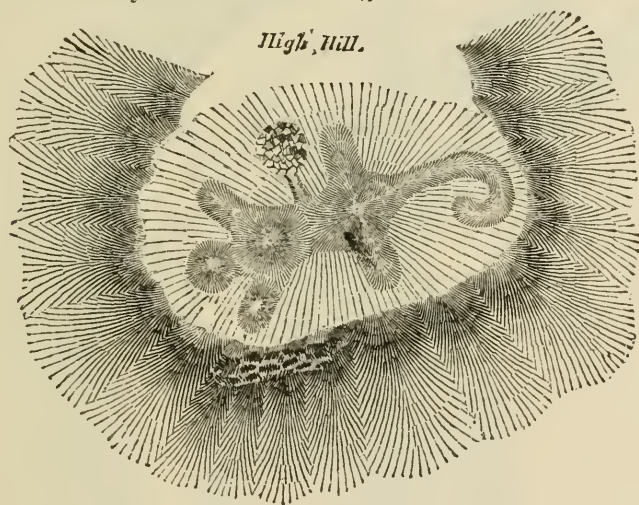


Fig. 88. Alligator Mound at Granville, Ohio.

It is possible that it perpetuated some tradition which prevailed in the locality, and the hill top and the effigy were associated together, because of the tradition. The erection of the altar near the effigy would indicate also that it was a place where offerings were made, and would suggest that the sacrifice here had become formal, and possibly was conducted by a priesthood, rather than in the hands of individuals as voluntary. We cannot say that this was true of the great serpent; and yet the oval mound in front of the serpent effigy would indicate that this also was used as a place of sacrifice, and that here was a locality which tradition had fixed upon as a place where



Fig. 89. Great Serpent in Adams county, Ohio.

some divinity had dwelt. We suggest also in reference to this serpent mound, that possibly the very trend of the hill and of the vallies, and the streams on either side of it, may have given rise to the tradition. The isolation of the spot is remarkable. The two streams which here separate the tongue of land from the adjoining country unite just below the cliff, and form an extensive open valley, which lays the country open for many miles, so that the cliff on which the effigy is found can be seen to a great distance. The location of this effigy is peculiar. It is in the midst of a rough, wild region, which at the present is difficult to approach, and according to all accounts is noted for its inaccessibility. See Fig. 89.

The shape of the cliff would easily suggest the idea of a massive serpent, and this with the inaccessibility of the spot would produce a peculiar feeling of awe, as if it were a great Manitou which resided there, and so a sentiment of wonder and worship would gather around the locality. This would naturally give rise to a tradition or would lead the people to revive some familiar tradition and localize it. This having been done, the next step would be to erect an effigy on the summit which should both satisfy the superstition and represent the tradition. It would then become a place where the form of the serpent divinity was plainly seen, and where the worship of the serpent, if it can be called worship, would be practiced. Along with this serpent worship, however, there was probably the formality of a priestly religion, the rites of sacrifice having been instituted here and the spot made sacred to them. It was literally "sacrificing on a high place." The fires which were lighted would be seen for a great distance down the valley and would cast a glare over the whole region, producing a feeling of awe in the people who dwelt in the vicinity. The shadows of the cliff would be thrown over the valley, but the massive form of the serpent would be brought out in bold relief; the tradition would be remembered and superstition would be aroused, and the whole scene would be full of strange and awful associations.

The various authors who have treated of this serpent mound have maintained that the tradition which found its embodiment here was the old Brahmanic tradition of the serpent and the egg.

Mr. S. G. Squier connects the effigy with the serpent worship which is so extensive in different parts of the world, and Schoolcraft has expressed the opinion that it was a sign of the Hindoo myth, and even Drake in his new volume on Indian tribes suggests the same. We express no opinion upon this point but quote the description of the mound as given by Squier and Davis.*

* While writing this article we have received a letter from Rev. J. P. McLean, in reference to this serpent effigy. He says that the figure as described in "ancient onuments" by Squier and Davis is decidedly wrong. I have been to the mound three times; the last time, last month, (September, '84.) I have furnished a correct plan to the "Bureau of Ethology." I took an engineer with me. First, there is a

"Probably the greatest earthwork discovered at the west is the great serpent. It is situated on Rush Creek, at a point known as Three Forks, upon a high crescent-formed hill or spur of land, which rises one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the creek. The side of the hill next to the stream presents a perpendicular wall of rock, while the other side slopes rapidly though, it is not so steep as to preclude cultivation. Conforming to the curve of the hill and occupying the very summit is the serpent, its head near the very point, and its body winding back 700 feet, and this terminating in a coil at the tail. The neck of the serpent is stretched out and slightly curved, and its mouth is opened wide, as if in the act of swallowing or ejecting an oval figure which rests partially within the distended jaws. This oval is formed by an embankment of earth, without any perceptible opening, four feet in height and is perfectly regular in outline, its traverse and conjugate diameter being one hundred and sixty feet and eighty feet respectively. The ground within the oval is slightly elevated; a small circular elevation of stones much burned once existed in the center, but they have been thrown down and scattered by some ignorant visitor, under the prevailing impression, probably, that gold was hidden beneath them. The point of the hill within which this egg-shaped figure rests, seems to have been artificially cut to conform to its outline, leaving a smooth platform ten feet and somewhat inclining inward all around it."

The erection of isolated mounds was not common in Wisconsin, the custom here having been to isolate an altar or beacon mound, and to make the effigies as guards to this mound. This style of sacred enclosure is, however, quite common, several such having been noticed by different persons. We have in Wisconsin several specimens of what may be called sacred enclosures. One such has been described by Mr. S. Taylor. It is situated near Muscodá. The peculiarity of the group can be seen from the diagram, Fig. 90:

frog which has just laid the egg. Second, the egg is between the legs of the frog and in the serpent's jaws. Third, the convolutions are very marked. This letter puts a new construction on the shape of the effigy and would indicate that the serpent and the egg were not taken from the Bramanic tradition but had reference to some aboriginal tradition. We do not decide as to the correctness of Mr. McLean's description. Prof. F. W. Putnam with Mr. J. Kimball has visited the place and taken the dimensions of the effigy. Dr. J. G. Phene also visited the locality in 1882. Mr. J. W. Traber, who lives in the vicinity, has also sent the author descriptions of the serpent effigy. None of these gentlemen have recognized the frog. We give the account of Mr. McLean as a new view. All opinions, however, confirm the point which we are illustrating. All agree that the serpent effigy perpetuated some unknown tradition. The probability is also that the serpent effigy was regarded as peculiarly sacred. We give the cut taken from "Ancient Monuments," and call attention to the peculiarities of the place because it answers the purpose for which we use it mainly. There is no doubt but that this was an effigy which was connected with the native religion of the mound builders and we refer it as one illustration of a form of religion which may have prevailed among the emblematic mounds.

A description of this, is given by Squier and Davis as follows: "The ground is here prominent; it has descent to the north, south and west of the embankments; to the east it spreads into a broad plateau, upon which, as well as to the southward, are numerous other embankments of various forms and dimensions. From the top of the principal mound, occupying the center of the group, and within 400 yards to the westward may be seen at least one hundred elevations similar to those forming the boundaries of the so-called enclosure. Mr. Taylor calls it the "citadel" and says the figures, including the group are so arranged as to constitute a sort of enclosure of about one and one-half acres.

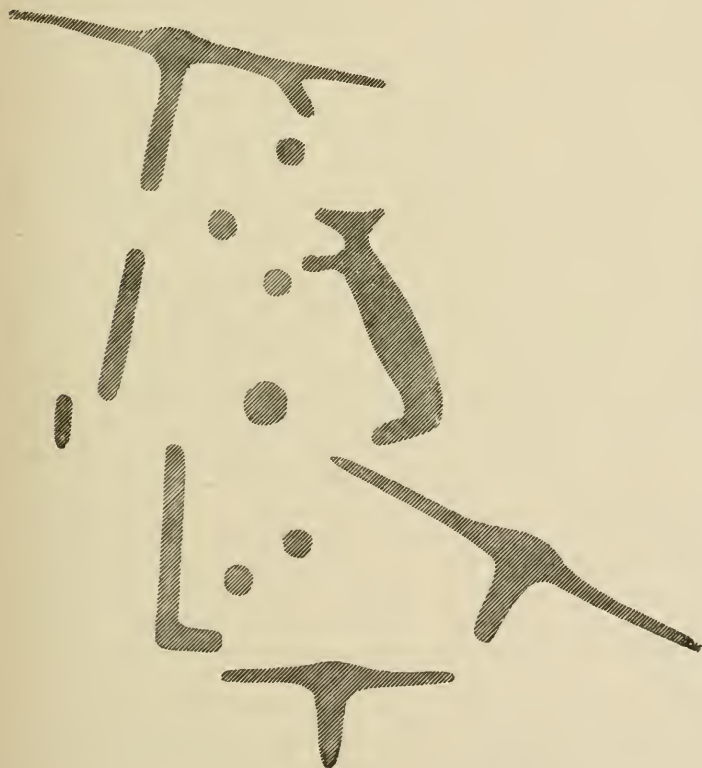


Fig. 90. Sacred Enclosure near Muscoda.

Another enclosure similar to this, has been discovered by the writer on the banks of Lake Mendota.* Here the view is quite extensive, but the hill is not so prominent as that described by Mr. Taylor. The enclosure, however, has many of the same charac-

*An illustration of this group will be given in a future number.

teristics. The place is known by the name of Merrill's Springs, and there is here a beautiful spring which pours its water into the lake, and which was evidently prized by the prehistoric inhabitants. This spring is guarded by a long row of conical mounds, which are connected with one another by an artificial ridge or wall. At one end of the row is an effigy of a bird, which overlooks the lake to the north and west. The row is so situated that it forms a barrier against approach to the spring as it follows along the edge of the bluff or hill which here slopes to the edge of the water. At the east end of the row is the group referred to. The peculiarity of the group is that it serves, 1st, as a protection to the spring, by filling in the space between the summit of the hill and the water's edge. 2d. It is attended with a large conical mound, which may have been used both as a beacon and as a burial place. 3d. The chief peculiarity is that the effigies so surround the central mound as to make an enclosure showing that it was used both as a beacon and as a place of worship. The spring was evidently a place of resort and it is possible that the quasi wall enclosed a small village or camp, but the enclosure with its effigies surrounding the central beacon or burial mound is the distinguishing feature of the group.

This double use of effigies has been noticed in many places, notably at Lake Koshkonong. See Fig. (10.) Here may be seen the effigy of the panther (5) and the catfish (2) surrounding a central beacon mound (4) and near this a mound which we have elsewhere called an altar (3) though it has never been excavated so as to show whether it was such or not. The group was, probably, used as a place where beacon fires were lighted, for it is situated on a high bluff overlooking the lake and can be seen for a great distance. It would seem, however, that it was also used as a place of sacrifice for the mound in front of the beacon has a shape which is often used as an altar. To this point we shall refer again. The effigies are so situated as to form an enclosure and the whole group is in a manner isolated, the ground falling away from this point on all sides.

There is another group in the same vicinity where effigies of various kinds surround central mounds giving the idea that it was a place where there was a sacred residence either of chiefs or priests or medicine men. See diagram (3.) This group is overlooked by the effigy of a lizard, but there are many other effigies of various kinds which surround the enclosure making the group to appear as if it were intended for both a residence and a sacred enclosure.

The religious use of the effigies is the point which we have dwelt upon in connection with these locations, for this is the first lesson which the situation of the mounds suggests. They may

not prove that fetichism or the worship of effigies or even animal worship, was the religion prevalent among the builders of the animal effigies, but I think the object of the so called enclosure was in part, at least, to gather around the beacon mounds the idea of sacredness, the effigies furnishing guards to these mounds and making the places in a sense exclusive. It is probable that the glare of the beacon fires when thrown upon the effigies would arouse a fear for the animal divinities, and so idolatry or effigy worship may have existed, but on this point we do not care to dwell. Our main argument is that the effigies were frequently used for religious purposes. If we cannot fix upon the exact form of the religion which prevailed we can nevertheless see that they were so used. We have maintained that nature worship was prevalent. This may, however, have been mingled with animal worship and this again with a kind of fetichism. The form of religion was probably very indefinite, combining all the characteristics of primitive animism, and running over into the stages of a primitive idolatry; nature worship and animal worship being the intermediate stages. We conclude that the shapes of the earth were fixed upon by animism, and that nature worship was continued in the midst of animal worship. We conclude also that this animal worship seized upon the effigies, and made them abettors to that faith. We surmise that tradition fixed upon certain localities and brought nature worship and animal worship into a combined localized superstition. We conclude, finally, that the rites of sacrifice and the custom of lighting beacon fires made the forms of nature to reflect animal figures, thus mingling the two superstitions more completely, and from their very indefinite and shadowy characters, making them very powerful.

IV. We now arrive at a fourth view of the religion exhibited by the emblematic mounds, and that is that it was a religion attended with sacrifices. The evidence on this point we take from the contents of the mounds. The contents, however, prove that sacrifices were common.

We have thus far treated of the peculiarities of the effigies in their bearing upon the use or purpose to which they were put. We have found that the religious character was uppermost. This is exhibited, 1st, in the choice of the location, the evidence being that they were made conspicuous because of the reverence which was felt toward them as the images of their animal divinities; 2d, the conformation of the effigies to the shape of the ground increased this impression, it being one part of a primitive religion to assign a double character to all objects of worship; 3d, the isolation of the effigies in certain localities conveying the idea of sacredness, we were led to consider that the same character was to be ascribed to certain groups in this state, the evidence being that there were certain groups in which enclos-

ures or sacred places of assembly were to be found. 4th. We are now to consider the contents of these mounds as furnishing proof that they were sometimes used as places of sacrifice or as places where religious rites were practiced. We have spoken of a certain class of mounds which in their shape we have called altars, and we shall therefore take this class as the one which we are to examine and whose contents we are to consider. It is a singular fact that nearly all of the localities which we have mentioned in this paper have presented a mound which judging from the external appearance was an altar. We here give a cut which shows the shape of an altar mound, see fig 91. We do not say that all altars are in this shape, but we have found that wherever such a mound has been found situated on high land where it may be conspicuous to the site, and especially if attended with a group of effigies surrounding it, there the mound has always proved to be a place of sacrifice. The mound which we have depicted in the figure has been explored and described by Dr. J. N. Dehart.

This mound was in a very conspicuous situation. From its summit an extended view of the surrounding country can be had several miles in every direction. This mound is situated on the north side of Lake Mendota. It was also attended by a beacon mound. It has been excavated and proved to contain layers of gravel, of sand, of black loam, three feet deep; another layer of gravel, then a deposit of earth, and below these ashes, charcoal, and flints, the whole lying upon an altar of stones. The altar was about one and one-half feet high, three and one-half in length, and one foot in width. The figure given, illustrates the manner of erecting the mound and the shape of the altar; but the location of the mound shows that the object was to make it a place of cremation and as conspicuous as possible.

Another mound which, in our opinion, was an altar, is the one which has been referred to above, as situated at Great Bend. We give a figure of it here (see fig. 87) that our readers may gain an idea of the characteristic shapes of the so-called altar mounds. It will be noticed that there are resemblances between this mound and the alligator mound at Granville, especially in the protuberances which arise from the back and hips and shoulders of the effigy. The animal is, however, not the alligator, but the turtle or tortoise, the turtle being represented with legs and tail drawn up, but it at the same time combines in the effigy six conical mounds. This mound has not been excavated and so cannot be proved to have been an altar yet there are two large tumuli or burial mounds near it, and many other signs which would indicate that it was so used. It is located on the hill above the site of an ancient village, giving rise to the idea that it was the regular place of sacrifice for the residents of this village. It is worthy of remark that a mound similar to this has been excavated and proven to

have been an altar, and to this mound we now call attention. At the beginning of this paper we referred to a group of mounds which is situated on Lake Wingra, and which was remarkable for its location and other characteristics. Fig. 85. The mound which we are now to describe is the central one of this group. This is a locality which illustrates all the points which we have made and therefore is worthy of especial mention. The effigies contained in it are conformed to the shape of the ground. The spot is one which, owing to its isolation and peculiar character would be regarded with awe and idolatrous fear. Whether any tradition had fixed upon it or not, it was evidently a place where religious rites were celebrated. It contains a sacred enclosure, the effigies having been arranged around two central mounds so as to guard them from approach. These two central mounds we have designated as a beacon and an altar, and have compared them to the mounds in other groups to show that they were places for beacon fires and sacrifices.

We are now to give the proof of this from a review of the contents of the mounds. The group was explored in 1879 by a committee appointed by the Academy of Science of the State of Wisconsin, and from the report we take the following facts:

According to the account given by Prof. Nicodemus it contained a fire-place two by two and one-half feet, with a layer of charcoal and ashes two inches in thickness. This was found at a depth of five feet. In it was a piece of cloth partially burnt and below it were found the portions of a skeleton nearly decomposed, but the whole altar and mound showed the signs of fire. The beacon mound is found in the same enclosure, and this proved, on examination, to have contained two fire-places, one three feet and the other at five feet below the surface. There were also found in this mound the fragments of four or more skeletons, with pieces of pottery and other relics. The altars contained partially burnt bones and ashes, showing that here human beings had been cremated. We refer to this group because it proves what kind of mounds were used as sacrificial places. The shape of this altar is very similar to the one which is given in fig. 87, and resembles also, with its corresponding beacon mound, the two which we have described as found on the banks of Lake Koshkonong. Fig. 10. The altar mound has a peculiar form, resembling that of a tortoise shell, but is destitute of the protruberance which would represent the limbs of the tortoise. The locality seems to have been well chosen, for its central position makes it conspicuous in the landscape, and the isolation of the spot itself throws an air of sacredness around the place. The peculiar shape of the ridge would make it a prominent object, but the erection of the effigies on the summit and the spurs of the ridge, have transformed the earth into animal shapes. The sheets of water contained in the two lakes,

Lake Monona and Lake Wingra, come so near to the foot of the ridge as to give an unimpaired view of the spot for a great distance. It needed only the kindling of fires on the summit to throw a glare of light across the water and to fill the whole landscape with shadows. It was a favorable place for the lighting of beacon fires and especially favorable for the practice of sacrificial rites. We can imagine how weird and wild the place was when the sacrifice took place. We refer to this locality not so much with the intent of describing the place as to point out the features which make it typical.

It will be noticed that the various elements which we have referred to as proofs of a religious intent are all here embodied. The location is conspicuous; the shapes of the effigies are conformed to the ground and give expression to the shapes of the earth; the isolation of the spot throws an air of sacredness about it and the arrangement of the effigies around a central altar and beacon make the group to assume the shape of an enclosure; but the contents of the mounds prove conclusively that the mounds were erected for a religious purpose. There are many other groups similar to this and the fact that all of them are so striking in their location has led the writer to trace out the different elements and to discover what features were peculiar to the religious works. We maintain that places of sacrifice or of cremation were common and that the religious use of certain groups can be easily ascertained. There are to be sure many other groups of effigies which have not all of the characteristics here embodied, yet it is evident that the effigies had frequently a sacred or religious character.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURAL WORKS AND EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

The use of the emblematic mounds as religious works occupied our attention in the last paper. We now, by way of contrast, turn to a new phase of the subject, and purpose to consider the tokens of agricultural life, which are found among the mounds. One reason for taking this subject up at this present time is, that it brings us into closer contact with the actual life of the effigy-builders. One great difficulty in understanding the emblematic mounds arises from the remoteness of the people who erected them. This remoteness is owing, not merely to the age in which they lived, or to the obscurity which has come upon their history, but chiefly to the difference which existed between their customs and ours. A wide gulf separates them from us, and it seems almost impossible for us to cross or to enter into their state of mind and understand their habits. Agriculture, however, furnishes a bridge by which we can cross and come into contact with them. While their tribal organism, social customs and religious notions were very different from ours, their agriculture was very similar, and this furnishes a common ground on which we may stand. The custom of erecting effigies was so unique and singular that it obscures the life of the people, and we are therefore gratified when we find some custom which is familiar to us. It is a very suggestive topic, as it reveals the common life of the people and brings us into close contact with native society. We shall find that it opens to our view not only the industries which were common, but reveals the sedentary condition of the Mound-builders. We shall find the agricultural works frequently associated with villages, and shall see in them the varied features of village life. We shall discover in them also the religious customs of the Mound-builders, for the people did not banish their religion from their fields, but they brought their effigies into the midst of them as protectors and as divinities. We shall find that there were difficulties surrounding their agriculture which we do not experience, difficulties arising from the incursions of wild animals and the liabilities of attack from hostile people. Yet there were protections to these agricultural works which make the picture all the more familiar to us. We therefore turn to the topic with more than usual interest, expecting to find much information in reference to the people who erected the effigy mounds.

In treating the subject we shall first give a general review of the agricultural habits of the pre-historic people. Second, describe the agricultural tokens which are presented in Wisconsin

and neighboring states. Thirdly, speak of the association of these tokens with emblematic mounds; and fourthly, refer to the relative age of the different agricultural works. It is a broad subject, and we have found it difficult to condense it into the compass of a single chapter.

I. The evidence that agriculture prevailed in pre-historic times will first occupy our attention. It is well known that America was an agricultural country before its settlement by the whites. There were, to be sure, portions of the continent which were occupied by hunting races, where agriculture did not exist, but all that portion which was embraced between the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, and in fact all of the territory of the United States, was emphatically an agricultural region. There may have been a difference between the different portions of this territory, the southern half of it having been given more fully to the pursuit than the northern half, yet there are evidences that horticulture in one way or another prevailed throughout the whole land. It may have been in some places a rude kind of farming and the implements used, primitive, consisting of wood and stone hoes, with no plows and very few conveniences. Yet the extent of the fields cultivated was, in many places, quite astonishing, and the tillage was quite remarkable. The products of the soil were mainly corn, though in many places there were garden products, such as vegetables, beans, squashes and roots. It is said by some that there were domestic fowls, such as turkeys, and in the western parts of the country tame buffalo and tame elk; there is, however, no evidence that animals were ever used in tilling the soil. The men at times assisted in clearing the ground, and in the season of the harvest aided in securing the crops, but the work of tilling was mainly done by women. The cornfields surrounded the villages, and sometimes extended from village to village, several miles in length, but generally the gardens were adjoining the houses, though there are places where garden-beds are found somewhat removed from the habitations.

We now turn to the proof of these points. We shall cite the testimony of early travelers and explorers. We shall first refer to the agriculture which was discovered by the Spanish explorers. This was chiefly seen in the Gulf States, but extended as far north as the mountains of Carolina and Southern Tennessee, and prevailed west of the Mississippi River. Ferdinand De Soto passed from Tampa Bay in Florida through the whole breadth of the Gulf states, crossing the Mississippi between Natchez and Memphis, and finally reached the broad plains of the far west. From the historians of this expedition we learn that agriculture was prevalent all over these states. Great fields of corn were traversed by the army, and stores of grain were found in the villages. West of the river there were villages around which were extensive cornfields, and the winter supply in these villages was

abundant. The army, to be sure, at one time passed out beyond the agricultural* region and entered upon the great buffalo plains which extended from the borders of the Arkansas to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, but everywhere else they found the tribes depending mainly upon the products of the soil, and the wild life of the hunter was the exception. Following these Spanish explorers were the French navigators, such as Cartier and Champlain, who, with their vessels, struck into the continent through the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and with canoes penetrated into the vast interior by the water channels which were furnished by the chain of great lakes and the rivers of Canada. The descriptions furnished by Champlain are especially worthy of notice.

This heroic man traversed the northern borders of New England, penetrated the interior of New York, and extended his wanderings far north and west, toward the Georgian Bay and the east coast of Lake Huron. He made a record of his wanderings, which may be read with interest, as they furnish a picture of the condition of the country at the time as few narratives do. Here were extensive forests; the streams were large and the scenery was wild and picturesque, and it required great fortitude to enter and to traverse them, for there was great danger of being lost in the interminable woods, and the supplies for man were comparatively few, requiring the skill of the hunter to draw them from the wild retreats. We learn that here even the natives themselves were frequently upon the point of starvation, and that even the largest villages, such as that at Montreal, called Hochalega, and that near Quebec, called Tadoussac, at times were entirely deserted by their inhabitants, the natives finding the deep interior more favorable for subsistence during the long winter months.

Still the testimony of Champlain is that agriculture was practiced even in the midst of this wilderness, and that the villages were all of them surrounded with patches of corn and places where vegetables grew. Speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Deseret and the Penobscot, he says they were an agricultural race. "Patches of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco and esculent roots lay near all their wigwams." "Their mat-covered lodges could be seen thickly strewn along the shores, and the natives came out from bays and inlets to meet them in canoes of bark or wood." At Port Royal the party spent the winter, "enjoying the luxuries of the

*The reader will find an interesting account of De Soto's journey in the Conquest of Florida, by Theodore Irving, M. A.; Geo. P. Putnam & Son, New York, 1869.

The reader will find Parkman's volume, "Pioneers of France in the New World," instructive, as there are in it quotations from Champlain's journal, and many valuable references.

forest, the flesh of moose, caraboo deer, beaver, otter and hare, bears and wild-cats, with duck, geese, grouse and plover, sturgeon and trout, and fish innumerable." "At Quebec the natives, gorged with food, lay dozing on piles of branches in their smoky huts, where through the crevices of the birch bark streamed in a cold capable at times of congealing the mercury," and yet the same people were before spring-time reduced to a desperation by the famine and starvation. "The five confederate nations dwelt in fortified villages, and were all alike tillers of the soil, living at ease when compared with the famished Algonquins."

The Ottawas were upon the river which bore their name. On the borders of Lake Coulangue was their chief seat. "Here was a rough clearing; the trees had been burned; there was a rude and desolate gap in the somber green of the pine forest. Dead trunks, blasted and blackened with fire, stood upright, amid the charred stumps and prostrate trees. In the intervening space the soil had been feebly scratched with hoes of wood or bone, and a crop of maize was growing, now some four inches high." At Lake Nipissings Champlain found another tribe. He visited "the Indian fields with their young crops of pumpkins, beans and French peas; the last a novelty obtained from the traders." At Thunder Bay he found the Hurons. "Here was a broad opening in the forests; fields of maize, idle pumpkins ripening in the sun, patches of sunflowers, from the seeds of which Indians made hair-oil, and in the midst of them the Huron town of Otouacha." "To the south and southeast other tribes of kindred race and tongue; all stationary, all tillers of the soil, and all in a state of advancement."

Here we have a picture of the two sections of country, north and south, and although the contrast is great, we find that agriculture was common in both. A similar picture is also presented to us by the English colonists. The historian, De Bry, has preserved for us certain descriptions or narratives from which we can draw. He has also given an engraving copied from the painting of the celebrated Wyeth. From the engraving and the records we learn that the villages along the Atlantic coast were, all of them, surrounded by fields of corn and garden-beds and other tokens of cultivation. The village of *Pomeiock* has been described, and pictures of it have been given. This village is represented as in the midst of a cornfield, which was itself surrounded by forests. There is in the center of the cornfield a lodge, and in the lodge a sentinel, placed there for watching the growing grain. In the forest there are wild deer. The cabins or huts of the natives are clustered together, making a village. Around each cabin are gardens full of vegetables of various kinds. In the midst of the village are two circles, one for dancing and the other for religious ceremonies. There are also

houses for the storing of grain as well as the house of the chiefs and the houses where the dead were deposited. The remark in reference to the gardens surrounding the houses is made by Captain Ribaut, in the discovery of Terra Florida, published in London, in 1563. "They labor and till the ground, sowing the field with a grain called *Mahis*, whereof they make their meal, and in their gardens they plant beans, gourds, cucumbers, citrons, peas and many other fruits and roots unknown to us. Their spades and mattocks are made of wood so well and fitly as is possible."

From these descriptions we learn that there were two kinds of cultivation; the one, in the field, which was conducted according to the native tribal system on a communistic plan; the other in the garden, which was more a matter of personal effort, and conducted by the individuals, the products of which belonged to the family.

Such was the agriculture seen by the southern colonists. That seen by the New England colonists was, however, similar. From the narrative of the Pilgrims we learn that agriculture existed in New England, although the country here had been depopulated by disease, and the natives were not as numerous or the villages as large as at the south. A party of Pilgrims spent the first sabbath on an island near which the Mayflower had anchored. Here they found pits or "caches" in which the natives had hid their corn, and on this they made their first meal.

At the landing at Plymouth Rock, the Pilgrims saw no Indians, but soon after a reconnoitering party found a quantity of corn and a copper kettle, which they "borrowed" and brought in as signs that the country was inhabited. We also read that they "found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for ploughing, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn."

Thus, even in New England, the archaeological tokens of agriculture were shown and the descriptions given by the "Pilgrims" confirms those given by the explorers in other parts.

These districts are to be sure somewhat remote from the region occupied by the emblematic mounds, yet they help us to understand the agriculture which may have existed among them. There are no descriptions of fields or garden-beds or caches given to us by explorers, and we can not say that they were seen and that the owners of them were known. The missionary Marquette, who sailed through the water channel which crosses this state, and passed over the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, has described villages, but does not seem to have noticed cornfields or any other agricultural tokens. The early settlers found the Indians cultivating corn, but they were migratory tribes, differing from those which had formerly dwelt here, and were not the same people who built the emblematic mounds.

Still we learn from these settlers that there were many places where corn had been raised, and from their descriptions we may not only become acquainted with the agriculture of the native Indians but from them we may infer what the system was which probably existed among the Mound-builders. The soil in Wisconsin is easily cultivated, and there are many open places which could be occupied without clearing, and many other circumstances which would favor agriculture. The evidences are that the country was permanently occupied. We cannot say that the prairies were ever covered with extensive fields, for there are no evidences of this. The mounds and earthworks are generally situated upon the streams and lakes, and not upon the prairies. We do not know that agriculture here was any more extensive than Champlain found it to have been in Lower Canada or the regions about Lake Huron, yet, judging from the tokens left we should say that the people occupying the region depended in part upon the cultivation of the soil for their subsistence. There was undoubtedly the combination of the hunting life with the agricultural life, the people feeding upon the wild game in the forests, the fish in the rivers and lakes, the wild rice which grew in the swamps, the nuts and berries which were found in the openings and marshes, and the roots which grew in various places. They probably fixed their villages upon the banks of the streams and lakes, the men spending their time in hunting and fishing, leaving the women to plant the corn and attend to the garden-beds. The ownership of the fields was probably common in the tribe, though each family may have had its own particular plot of ground. The harvest was probably gathered and was stored in caches near their villages, and then effigies placed near the caches to guard them from robbers. Among some tribes the grain was stored in cribs or granaries which were built on posts about seven feet high. In other places it was stored in the loft of the houses, but here it seemed to have been stored in caches. The Indians kept the situation of their caches a secret, for if found out they would have to supply every needy neighbor. "They lived in stockaded villages and had forts or castles near their corn grounds for refuge in case of eruption of small marauding parties of their enemies." There may have been the same system prevalent among the emblematic Mound-builders, for many of the fields and garden-beds are found near the sites of ancient villages, and there are many points of resemblance between the life of the two races, the building of effigies being the main difference. At the date of the arrival of the French the Miamies, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, Outagamis or Foxes, and other tribes were living in Wisconsin, while all south of this as far as to the mouth of the Ohio was held by the Illinois and their allies, among whom were a few villages of Shawnees. Among all

these nations corn was cultivated in quantities and agriculture was common.*

We conclude, then, that the people who erected the emblematic mounds were agriculturists, for they were certainly as advanced as were the later tribes, and the evidences given by their works is that they were as permanent, and as likely to depend upon the products of industry as any of the tribe of Indians. There are many points which come up in connection with their works, which suggest this.

II—Our next point will include a description of the archaeological tokens. It appears that there are many evidences of pre-historic agriculture in this state.

1. In the first place, there are many relics which could have been devoted to no other use than to agriculture. These relics are mainly of copper, and indicate a very considerable skill in manufacturing. It is not known, for certain, whether these copper tools belong to the mound-builders or to the Indians, but they are interesting as illustrating the conveniences for agriculture, which were common. Some of these copper tools are made with sockets and a shoulder inside of the socket, and a blunt, short spade-like edge below the socket, as if the intent was to put them upon the end of a pole or handle and to use them as spades or plows. They are generally well wrought and interesting specimens of tool-making. They vary in size from two to four inches in length, two to three inches in width, and the thickness of the socket from one to two inches. They are superior to the tools which were used by the Indians of New England, and even superior to the stone hoes and spades which have been found in Tennessee and the Southern states.

Loskiel, speaking of the Delawares and Iroquois, says. "They used formerly the shoulder-blade of a deer or a tortoise-shell, sharpened upon a stone and fastened to a thick stick instead of a hoe."

We give a cut of a copper spade or plow (see figure 93,) as an illustration of the skill which the Mound-builders had attained in manufacturing agricultural tools. This particular specimen was found by Mr. Wm. H. Marshall, of Circleville, among the mounds of Ohio, but there are several specimens in Wisconsin which are

*For evidence on these points we refer to the "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, Historically Considered," by Lucien Carr. References will be found in this monogram to many early explorers, including Goutell, Charlevoix, Tonti, Father Marquette, Father Membre, Carver, Lafitau, Hennepin, La Hontan, Du Pratz, Schoolcraft, De Laett, Vanderdonck, and many others, all of whom have described the habits of the northern Indians. The southern Indians differ from the northern so much that we cannot apply the descriptions given by the authors who were familiar with them as appropriate to Wisconsin, but there are enough descriptions of the tribes who dwelt in this region to furnish a picture of the habits prevalent without confounding the two sections in one general review.

identical with it, and we have chosen this because there are so many resemblances between it and the Wisconsin specimens. Several such specimens are at present in the cabinet of the Wisconsin

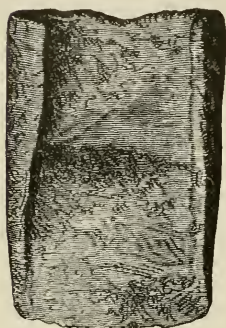


Figure 93.
Copper Spade, from
Ohio.



Figure 94.
Stone Hoe, from Illinois.

Historical Society, and several others in the hands of private collectors, but they are all of exactly the same pattern, and are all beautifully finished, and are admirable for their symmetry and perfection.

Dr. Palfrey speaks of a hoe made of a clam-shell or a moose shoulder-blade, fastened into a wooden hoe or handle. Adair, speaking of the Catawbias, says that one of their cornfields was seven miles in extent, and thinks that the tribe "must have been a numerous people to cultivate so much land with their dull stone axes." Dr. Rau speaks of the agricultural tools found in the Western states. They are of two kinds. The first are spades, the second are hoes; the spades, oval-shaped, more than a foot in length, five inches in breadth, three-fourths of an inch thick; flat on one side and convex on the other, worked to an edge all around; the hoes semi-circular in shape, six inches across each way, an inch thick, the lower end round and worked to an edge, with two notches near the top for fastening the handle. (See figures 94 and 95).

Specimens of these agricultural implements have been found in various places. Dr. Snyder, of Schuyler county, Ill., discovered at one time 3,500 of these implements in a nest, and Squier and Davis mention a mound in which were more than 600 of them, arranged in two layers, one above the other, and Dr. Coy, at Racine, found about thirty such implements, showing that they were common in this region. Dr. C. C. Abbott says hoes and stone spades are not uncommon in New Jersey. Dr. Lucien

Carr and Mr. Henry Haynes, and Mr. L. M. Hosea have spoken of the agricultural implements of Kentucky. All of these auth-

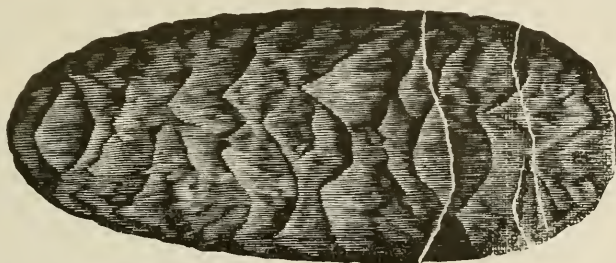


Figure 95.
Stone Spade, from Illinois.

ors show that agricultural tools were common, but none of them are equal to the copper specimens which have been found in the state of Wisconsin. (See figure 96.)

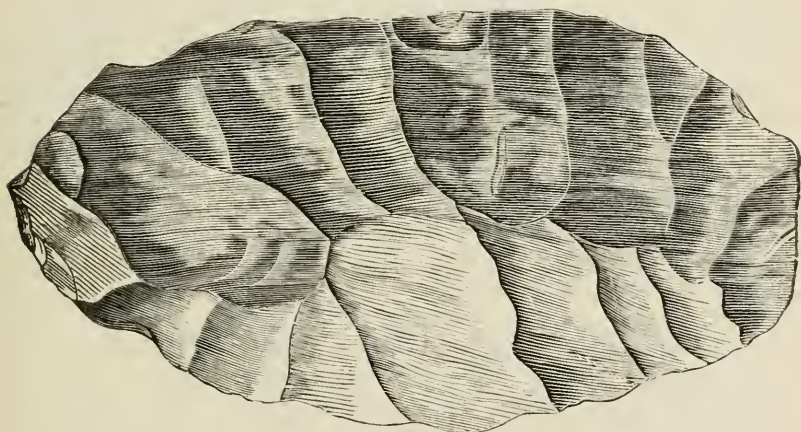


Figure 96.
Stone Hoe or Spade, from Kentucky.

2. The second class of tokens is the garden-beds. There are a few places where garden-beds have been found associated with emblematic mounds. These have been so nearly obliterated that very few traces of them are now discoverable. We are indebted to Dr. J. E. Hoy, of Racine, who has taken the pains to point out a series of these, still traceable near that city. Mr. W. H. Canfield has also described other garden-beds in the vicinity of Baraboo. Dr. I. A. Lapham has described beds as formerly existing near Milwaukee, at Mayville, at Theresa, in Dodge county, and several other localities. The best description of

them is one which was written by Hon. Bela Hubbard, of Detroit, and which was published in the first number of *THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN*. These beds were in the state of Michigan, but were so similar to those found among the emblematic mounds that we take this description as an illustration, and shall quote freely from it.

Mr. Hubbard says: "Unusual importance is attached to these remains of a lost race, from the fact that they have been almost entirely overlooked by archæologists, and because those which were so numerous and prominent thirty or forty years ago have now nearly disappeared." The earliest mention of the garden beds is found in the report of Verandrier, who, with several French associates, explored this region before 1848. He found in the western wilderness "large tracts, free from wood, many of which are everywhere covered with furrows as if they had formerly been plowed and sown.

Schoolcraft was the first to give the world any accurate and systematic account of these "furrows." Indeed, he is the only author of note who honors this interesting class of the works of the Mound-builders with more than the most meagre mention. Observations were made by him as early as 1827. He gives figures of two kinds of beds, and he records the fact that the garden-beds, and not the mounds, form the most prominent, and by far the most striking and characteristic antiquarian monuments of this district of country. Another writer of early date, still resident of our state, John T. Blois, published, in 1839, in his "*Gazeteer of Michigan*," a detailed description, with a diagram of one kind of the beds.

The former speaks of "enigmatical plats of variously-shaped beds," and further, "nearly all the lines of each area or sub-area of beds are rectangular and parallel.

Others admit of half-circles and variously curved beds with avenues, and are differently grouped and disposed."

The latter says, the beds "appear in various graceful shapes. Some are laid off in recti-lineal and curvi-lineal figures, either distinct or combined in a fantastic manner, in parterres and scolloped work, with alleys between, and apparently ample walks leading in different directions.

Mr. Hubbard gives descriptions of eight different classes of beds, and quotes Mr. Schoolcraft, who says that "the beds are of various sizes, covering generally from twenty to one hundred acres." He says some are reported to embrace even three hundred acres, although he does not cite any particular place where they were as extensive as this. He refers to a number of old settlers who were familiar with them, and mentions the localities where they formerly existed.

"The so-called 'garden-beds' were found in the valleys of the St. Joseph and Grand River, where they occupied the most fer-

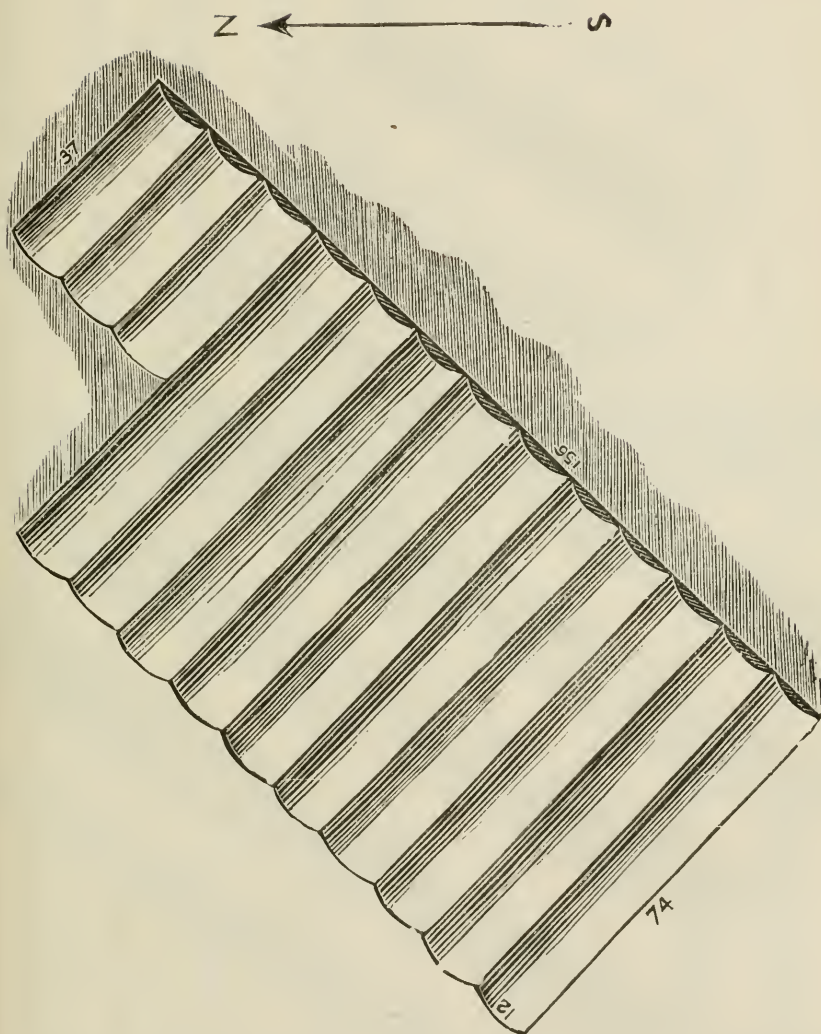


Figure 1. Scale 32 feet to 1 inch.
Ancient Garden Beds, Grand River Valley, Michigan.

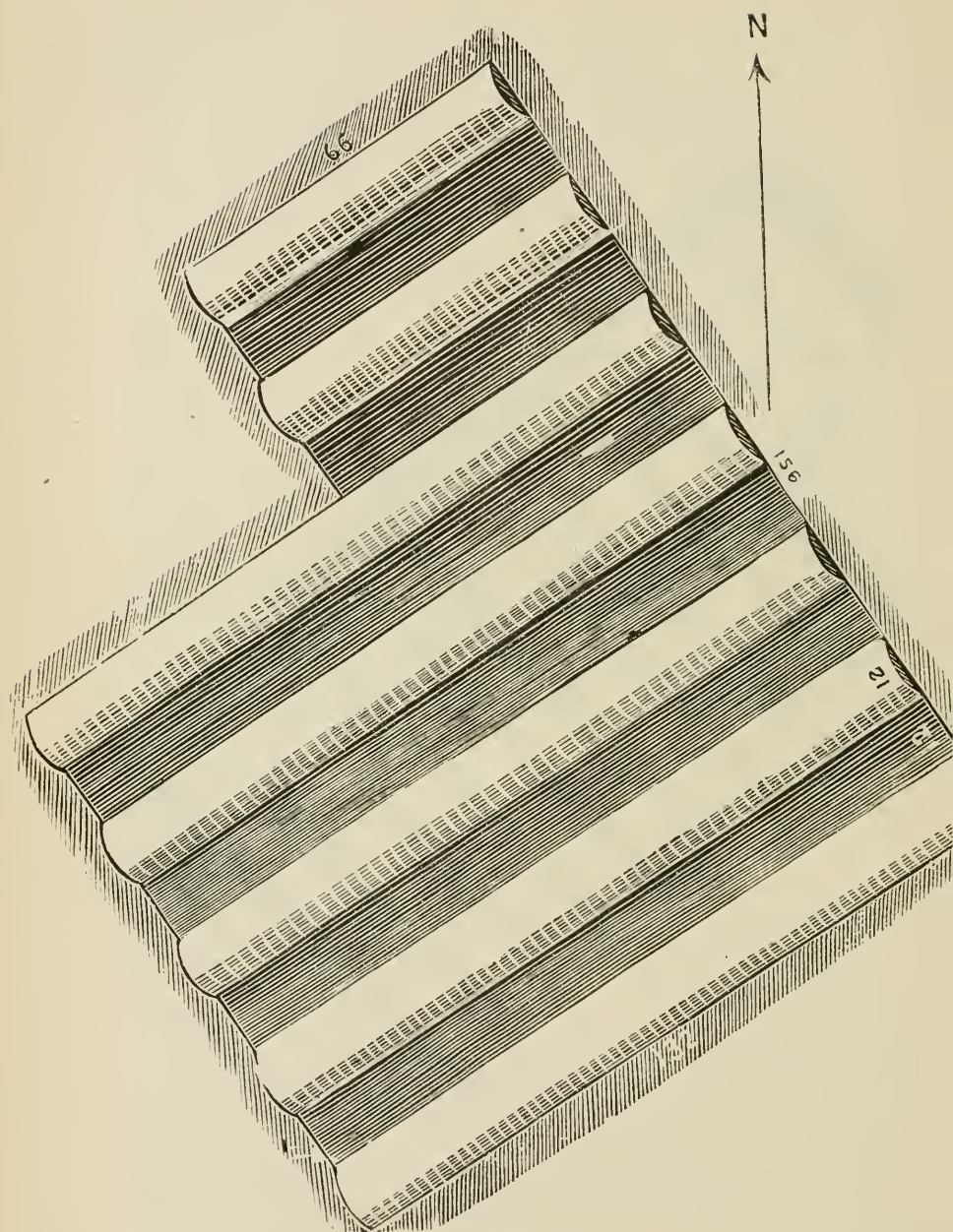


Figure 2.

Garden Beds, Grand River Valley, Michigan.

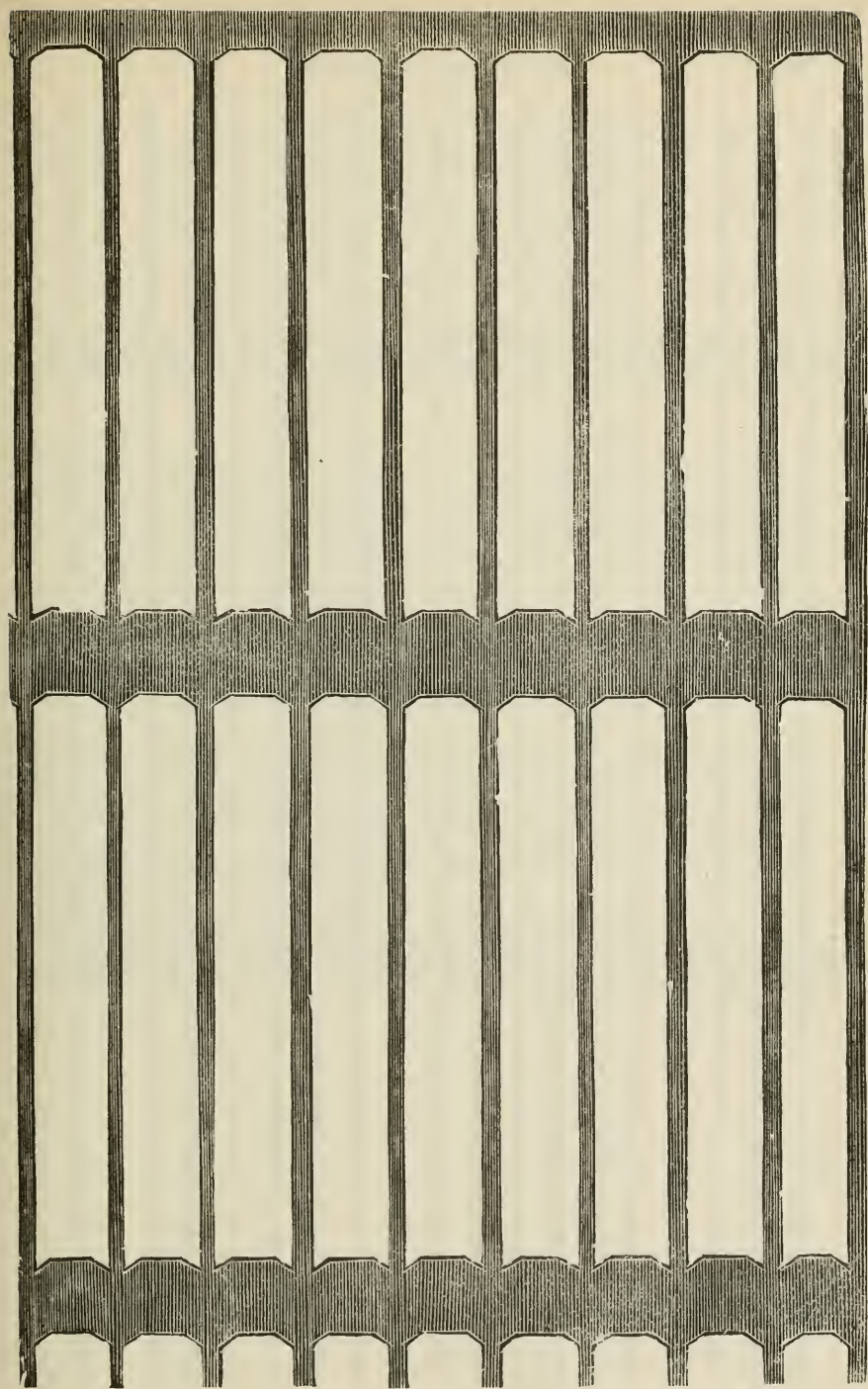


Figure 3.
Ancient Garden Beds, St. Joseph River Valley, Michigan.

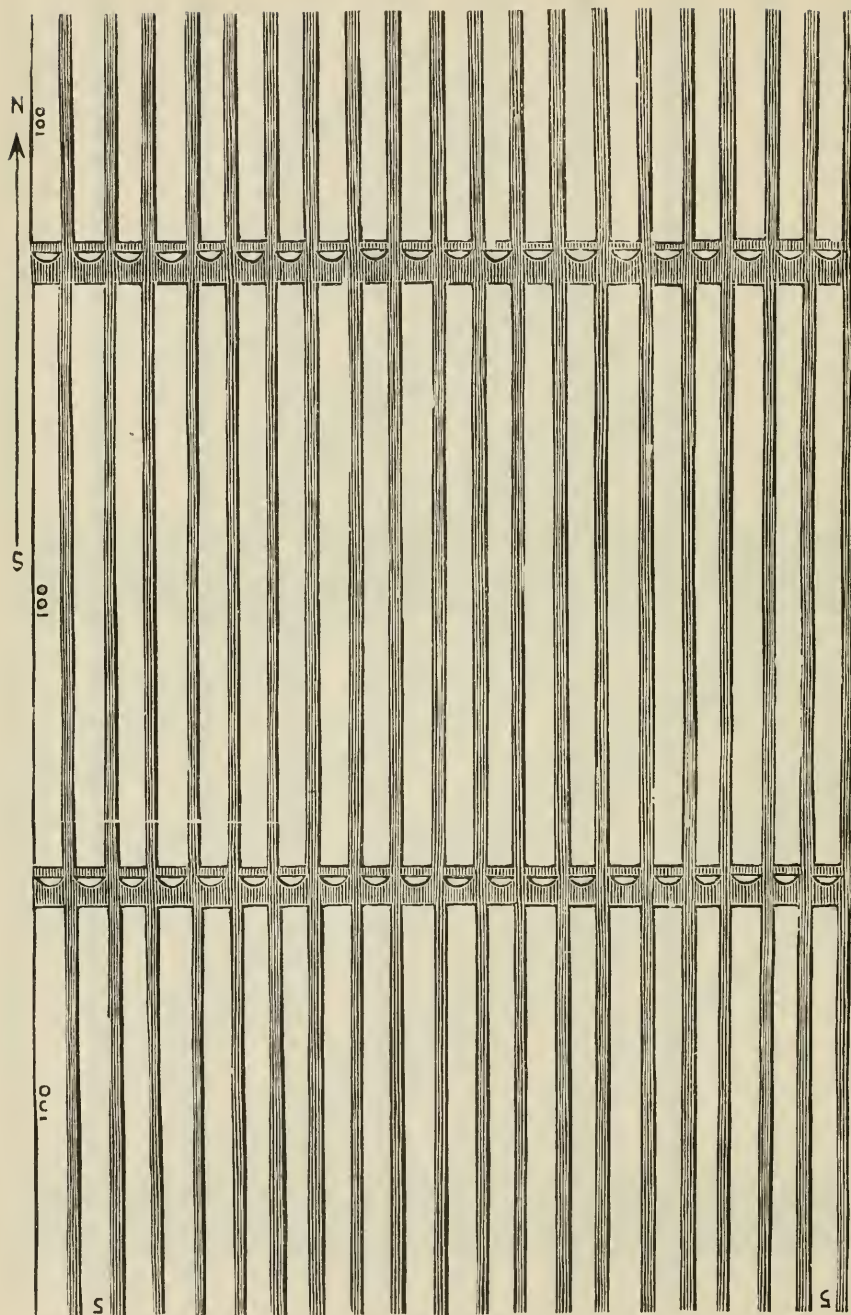


Figure 4.

Ancient Garden Beds, St. Joseph River Valley, Michigan.

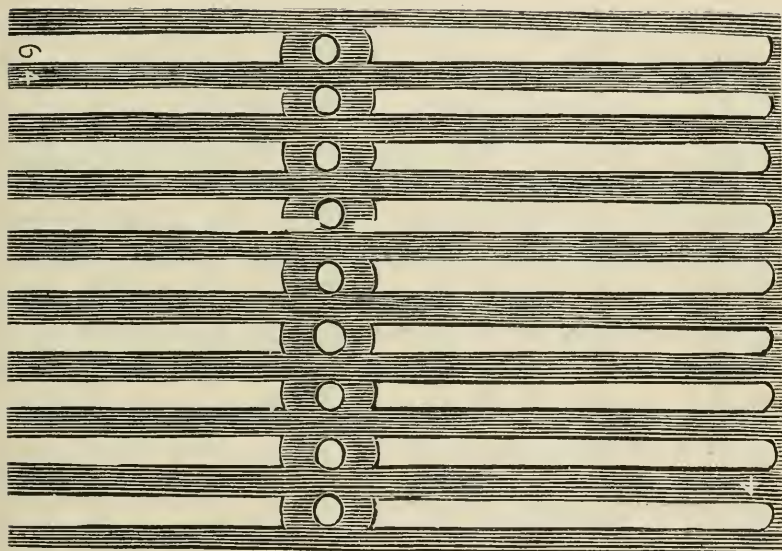


Figure 5.

Ancient Garden Beds, Western Michigan.

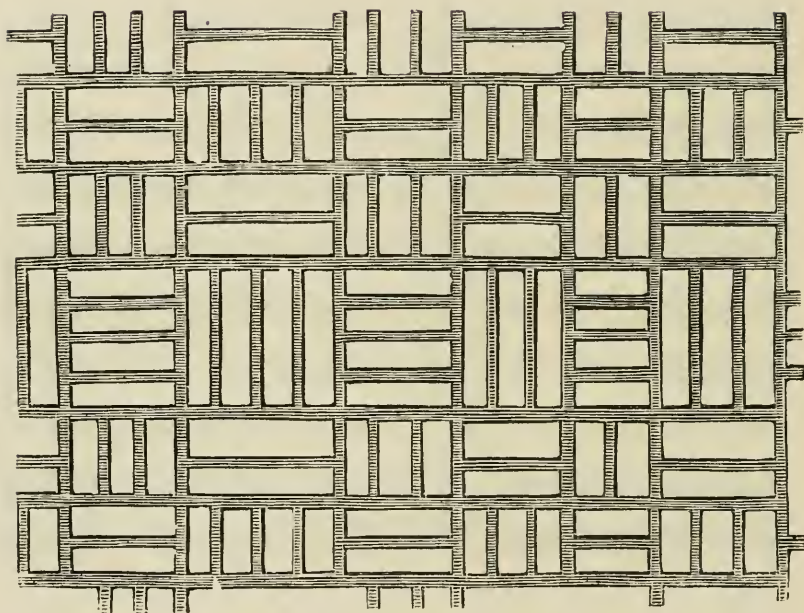


Figure 6—A.

Ancient Garden Plats, Kalamazoo County, Michigan.

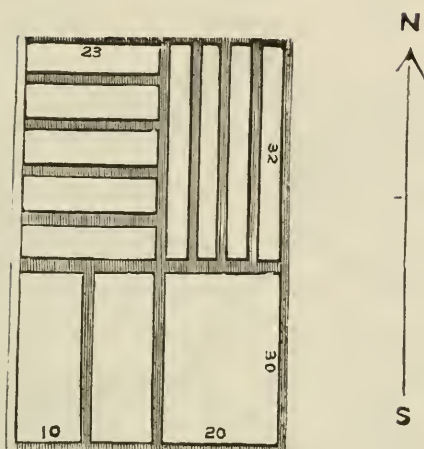


Figure 6—b.

Ancient Garden Plats, Kalamazoo County, Michigan.

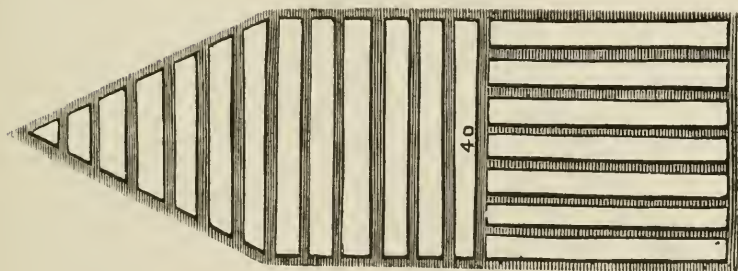


Figure 6—c.

Ancient Garden Plats, Galesburg, Michigan.

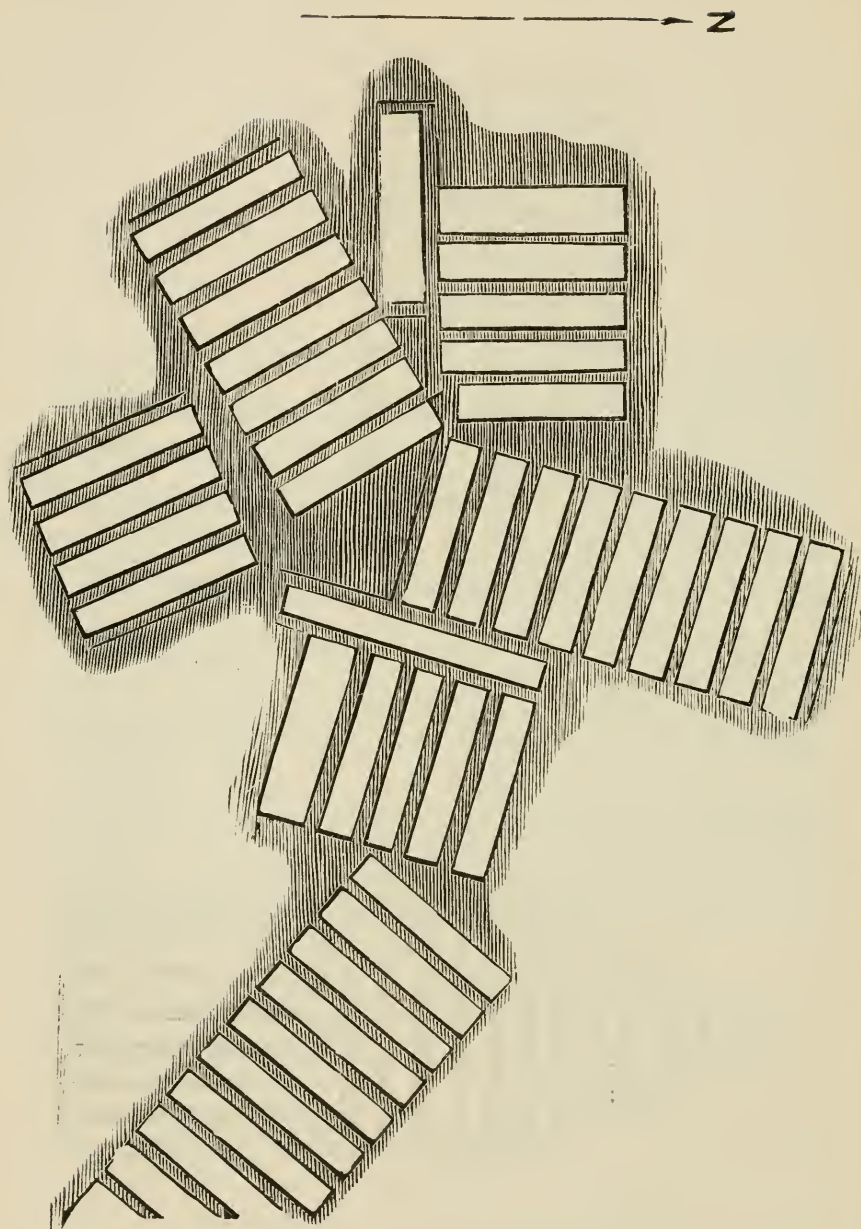


Figure 7.

Garden Beds on Prairie Ronde, Michigan.

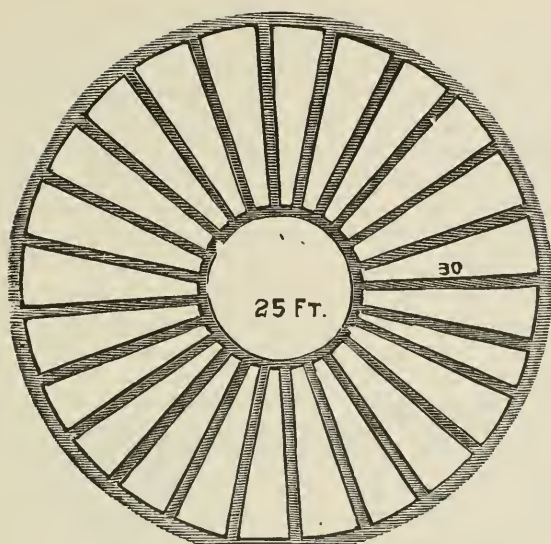


Figure 8.

Ancient Garden-Bed. Kalamazoo, Michigan.

tile of the prairie lands and burr oak plains, principally in the countries of St. Joseph, Cass and Kalamazoo. They consist of raised patches of ground, separated by sunken paths, and were generally arranged in plats or blocks of parallel beds. These varied in dimensions, being from five to sixteen feet in width, in length from twelve to more than one hundred feet, and in height six to eighteen inches. The tough sod of the prairie had preserved very sharply all the outlines. According to the universal testimony, these beds were laid out and fashioned with a skill, order and symmetry which distinguished them from the ordinary operations of agriculture, and were combined with some peculiar features that belonged to no recognized system of horticultural art. In the midst of diversity, sufficient uniformity is discernible to enable me to group the beds and gardens as in the following :

1. Wide convex bed in parallel rows, without paths, composing independent plats. Width of beds, 12 feet; paths, none, length, 74 to 115. (Figure 1).
2. Wide convex beds in parallel rows, separated by paths of same width, in independent plats. Width of bed, 12 to 16 feet; paths, same; length, 74 to 132 feet. (Figure 2).
3. Wide and parallel beds, separated by narrow paths, arranged in a series of plats longitudinal to each other. Width of bed, 14 feet; path, 2 feet; length, 100 feet. (Figure 3).
4. Long and narrow beds, separated by narrower paths, and arranged in a series of longitudinal plats, each plat divided from

the next by semi-circular beds. Width of bed, 5 feet; path, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet; length, 100; height, 18 inches. (Figure 4).

5. Parallel beds arranged in plats similar to class 4 but divided by circular beds. Width of bed, 6 feet; path, 4 feet; length, 12 to 40 feet; height, 18 inches. (Figure 5).

6. Parallel beds, of varying widths and lengths, separated by narrow paths, and arranged in plats of two or more, at right angles N. and S., E. and W. to the plats adjacent. Width of bed, 5 to 14 feet; paths, 1 to 2 feet; length, 12 to 30 feet; height, 8 inches. (Figure 6).

7. Parallel beds of uniform width and length, with narrow paths, arranged in plats or blocks and single beds, at varying angles. Width of bed, 5 feet; paths, 2 feet; length, about 30 feet; height, 10 to 12 inches. (Figure 7).

8. Wheel-shaped plats, consisting of a circular bed with beds of uniform shape and size radiating therefrom, all separated by narrow paths. Width of beds, 6 to 20 feet; paths, 1 foot; length, 14 to 20 feet. (Figure 8).

3. The third class of tokens to which we shall call attention is the cornfields which are found in great numbers in this region. Many of these were associated with emblematic mounds, though Dr. Lapham maintains that they belong to the later Indians rather than to the Mound-builders. On this point we would say that deference must be paid to Dr. Lapham's judgment, as he was an excellent observer and was very careful and conscientious in his statements. Yet we take the ground that the cultivation of corn existed at different periods, and was not peculiar to the Indians alone. Dr. Lapham makes four periods of occupation: first, that marked by the effigies; second, the period of the garden-beds; third the period of the cornfields; fourth, the period of modern settlement.

We have no doubt as to the successive occupation of the soil, but we question whether this division will hold, for the builders of the mounds were just as likely to have been agriculturalists as the Indians, and the people who built the garden-beds were very likely to have been the builders of the effigies. One argument has been used by Dr. Lapham which seems to have some force. He says that at Indian fields, near Milwaukee, there was a spot of ground where the mounds were covered with garden-beds, the rows which were seen upon the level having been continued over the mounds, and he thinks that the people who built the mounds could not have desecrated them by so placing the garden-beds upon their surface. We acknowledge that there was a sacredness to the effigies, but we doubt whether the pursuit of agriculture in their immediate vicinity would have been considered as desecrating them.

A still more forcible argument is taken from the presence of an effigy in a cornfield. This effigy was discovered by Dr.

Lapham at Milwaukee (Sherman's addition, block 33). (See figure 97.)

The description of it is as follows: "The ground is covered by the corn hills of the present race of Indians. In the midst of these hills was an effigy. It may be considered as a rude representation of a wolf or fox guarding the sacred deposits in the large though low mound before it. Both of these are of so little elevation as to be scarcely observed by the passer-by, but when once attention is arrested, there is no difficulty in tracing their outlines. The body of the animal is 44 feet and the tail 53 feet in length."

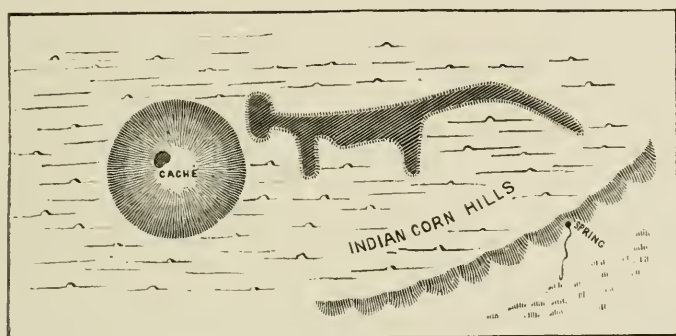


Figure 97.

Wolf in a Cornfield—Lapham.

This is a remarkable specimen, as it illustrates the fact that there was a succession of races. It has been maintained by some that the Indians were the same people as the Mound-builders. We do not deny that they were a similar race and that their mode of life resembled that of the preceding people, but the evidence is strong that they were not the same people. They may have cultivated the same spots of ground and buried their dead in the same tumuli. They may have occupied the same localities, and depended upon the same resources for their subsistence, but the builders of the effigies possessed evidently a different cultus. We, perhaps, would call them Indians, but they were Indians of an unknown tribe. The cornfields which covered and obscured this effigy are, at least, suggestive of this point.

It seems singular that this effigy should be in the midst of the field, and that it should be represented as guarding the mound wherein were placed the caches of the Indians, the corn hills having been placed upon the effigy, and the pits dug into the mounds, but it shows that the ideas of the people were different. The locality is one which illustrates the points of similarity and of difference between the two people. The Indians had no superstition in reference to the protective power of the effigy and did not hesitate to reduce it by cultivation. They ordinarily

depended upon secrecy for the safety of their grain. On the other hand, the Mound-builders placed effigies in the midst of their fields and erected mounds as places where they could store their grain, and depended upon the fetichistic character of the effigy to protect it.

There was, as Mr. Lapham says, little sense of the sacredness of the emblems, and a very different state of feeling in reference to them, among these later tribes. Our point is that these corn hills were the work of the later Indians, but the garden-beds were the work of the emblematic Mound-builders. On this point we refer to the fact that nearly all of the garden-beds are associated with emblematic mounds, but there are many places where cornfields are found and no mounds discoverable in the vicinity. The author has seen cornfields in a number of localities; at New London, on the Wolf river; at Madison, on the south bank of Lake Mendota; at Lake Koshkonong, and in several other localities. In all of these places the evidence was that the cornfields were the works of the later Indians. There are, to be sure, a few places where cornfields may be seen associated with effigies. One such was discovered by the author, near Kilbourn City. The field was overgrown by a forest of maple. There were in the vicinity a number of emblematic mounds, and the appearance of the effigies would indicate that the two were contemporaneous and were designed as guards or fences to the cornfields.

III. We turn, then, to consider the association of the emblematic mounds with the agricultural works. We shall treat this under several separate heads: 1st, the location of the garden beds and cornfields in relation to the emblematic mounds; 2d, the evidence that they were connected with the effigies as fields are with our modern villages; 3d, that there were provisions made for their defense by placing effigies in the midst of the fields, and 4th, that all of these furnish very striking illustrations of the real life of the effigy builders. The agricultural works of Wisconsin are very important, for they disclose the use of the emblematic mounds as nothing else can; but the points which we have made brings before us a new use of these effigies, and shows that there was a practical purpose served by them. The shapes and attitudes of the effigies have occupied attention in several papers. In some of them it was intimated that the effigies were placed as guards for villages and as screens for hunters, and in some were used as guards or protections to caches, but the connection of the effigies with the cornfields is even more suggestive.

There is no doubt but that these works were erected for some practical purpose, and that they are to be connected with the real life of the people who erected them. The strongest evidence that such is the case is furnished to us by the fact that there are so many tokens of an agricultural life found among these mounds.

This, to be sure, is only one feature. The other elements, such as game drives, village enclosures and defenses, present as clear a picture of the condition of society as these, but this is a feature which interests us on account of its familiarity, and because it discloses native life so fully.

1. The location of the cornfields and garden-beds is worthy of especial attention. There are three methods in which these beds seem to be connected with the effigies, and to each of these we shall call attention in their turn. We have referred to the garden beds at Racine. (See map.) Our impression is that these beds were connected with a village site; the village site having been upon the hilltop, near the bank of the river, and at such a place as to secure a defense from the natural situation of it. There are many mounds on this hilltop, some of them burial mounds, others defensive in their character, and still others mounds or circles which were probably used for dances. In connection with this group there are graded ways, showing that the people were accustomed to pass frequently from the hilltop to the valley of the stream below. These graded ways were guarded by circular walls and by effigies, and near them there were look-out mounds. The impression is gained from the locality that the villagers depended upon their location for defense, but that the subsistence was gained in part from these garden beds, which were not far away and access to which could be gained either by the river or by a trail. There are mounds on the points of the land surrounding this village, one of which seems to be a lookout. The bluff is precipitous, but on the summit of the bluff, opposite, a high conical mound is placed in just the spot where an outlook can be gained along the valley of the stream in both directions, as if the purpose was to defend the village site in that way. A corresponding look-out mound is also placed on the point of the bluff to the west, but commanding a view further up the stream. The garden beds are north of these in the valley of the stream.

Here are two groups of mounds. The one on the isolated hill abounding with effigies, and the other on the river bluff where only burial mounds are to be found. These two groups have been described by Dr. Hoy. He says, on "the point of the high bluff, marked 'A' on the map, is a mound six feet high, in connection with an embankment 235 feet long. This embankment is two feet high and 12 feet wide at the point nearest to the mound, and tapers gradually to a mere point at its western extremity, near a spring. I am informed that there were formerly other works connected with this, which have been obliterated by cultivation and other improvements."

"Lapham's Antiquities," pp. 16, 19, 27, 57, 61, 72. Plates IV, VIII, XXI, XXXVII.

"A little further east, on the same side of the river, is a single low mound, occupying the projecting point of a bluff. Opposite this, on the north bank of the stream, there is a cluster of mounds crowded into a small space, bounded on the east by a long mound, and on the west by a 'lizard mound' 80 feet long." "The remaining works, situated on the bluff north of these last-named, consists of three lizards, one oblong, and six conical tumuli, and three enclosures. The two semi-circular embankments are situated on an almost inaccessible bluff 80 feet high. The embankments are slight, not over one foot in elevation, and 10 or 12 feet broad, but perfectly distinct and well defined. There is some evidence that they formerly constituted *graded ways* leading to the river. They are tolerably well situated for works of defense, but without the addition of palisades could afford no protection. The small circle, from its size and position, could scarcely have been designed for a work of defense. The 'lizards' are much alike, from two to two and a half feet high; from 12 to 14 feet broad at the shoulders, the tail gradually tapering to a point. The longest is 130 feet and the shortest 80 feet in length." We excavated fourteen of the mounds—some with the greatest possible care; they are all sepulchral, of a uniform construction, as represented in figure 2. Most of them contained more than one skeleton; in one instance we found no less than seven." The author visited the locality in 1882, in company with Dr. Hoy, and formed the impression from the locality and the mounds that there were two periods of occupation, the one belonging to the effigy-builders and the other to a later people, the village of the emblematic Mound-builders having been placed on the isolated hill, but that of the later race having been on the bluff, where the cemetery now is. This may be a mere surmise. The mounds may all have belonged to one race, the village having been on the hilltop, and the burial place on the bluff. The location of the garden-beds is, however, suggestive. These were in a spot which was hidden away from observation on the rich bottom land on the south side of a high bluff. They were scattered over the surface, and among them there were traces of caches or pits where the products were stored. There were growing near them large elm trees. The trees may have been growing when the garden-beds were planted, but with the bluffs sheltering the spot from the cold winds and the rich soil favoring the products and the absence of all underbrush from the valley there would be no need for cutting down the trees, and the impression is that they were the garden-beds which belonged to the ancient village of the emblematic Mound-builders.

No description of these garden-beds was ever given, so that we do not know their dimensions or their shapes, but from the few plats which we have seen we should say that they were

very similar to those described by Mr. Hubbard, except that there were no circular or wheel-shaped beds. They cover the space of about half an acre.

Another locality where garden-beds have been seen is at Mayville. Here are many groups of emblematic mounds. The situation of the beds is similar to that at Racine. They are found in a rich valley just beneath one of the long ridges which constitutes a peculiar feature of this region. There are in the vicinity groups of effigies the object of which is at present unknown, but doubtless they all served the convenience of the prehistoric people. This is a region where wild game formerly abounded, as it is traversed by one of the branches of the Rock river, and is but a few miles away from Lake Horicon, where wild birds of all kinds are shot even at the present time. We shall not undertake to describe the effigies or to fix upon the object or use of any one of the groups, but we call attention to the garden-beds in the midst of the effigies. It would appear from this that the builders of the emblematic mounds, like the later Indians, led a mingled life. They both depended upon the agricultural resources and natural products, and so were hunters as well as agriculturalists. This group of mounds has been described by Dr. Lapham, and

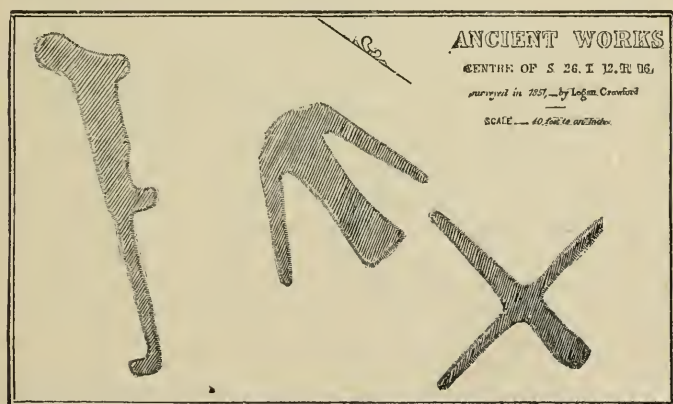


Figure 98.
 Effigies at Mayville.

several plates devoted to it. We give a map of the region, and call attention to the relative position of garden-beds and mounds. We do not attempt to explain the groups, but would refer to them as evidence that here was the residence of a clan or tribe.

We give several cuts to illustrate the effigies which are found in the vicinity. One is the picture of a group of effigies which was situated on the opposite side of the river and two or three miles away from the garden-beds. The other two are effigies which were found in the midst of a large group which was upon the

same side of the river. Dr. Lapham's description is as follows: "Directly north of Mayville, on the northeast quarter of S. 14, T. 12, R. 15, on the eastern declivity, on the base of a ridge, I saw some traces of the former garden-beds, with intermediate paths. In one place where the beds were examined they were 100 feet long, and had a uniform breadth of six feet, with a direction nearly east and west. The depressions or walks between

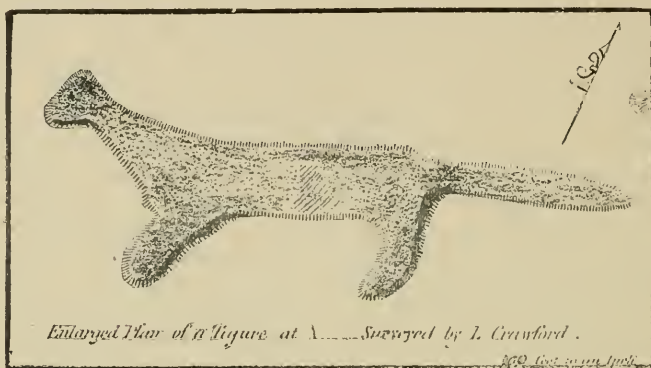


Figure 99.
Fox at Mayville.

the beds are about 100 feet deep, and 15 inches wide. The next group of mounds noticed was at the northern extremity of a ridge near the lower dam and mills, northwest quarter of S. 14. There were five elevations, of a circular form; three of them with a projecting ridge, gradually extending to the extremity, being of the kind called "tadpoles." We here call attention to a note, which is as follows: "This form may possibly have been intended to represent the gourd, an ancient American plant, doubtless much used by the Mound-builders." On the adjoining tract, northeast quarter of S. 15, are some round mounds, among them some of larger dimensions than usual, being from 12 to 14 feet in height and from 60 to 65 feet in diameter. These several groups form a regular row a little west of Mayville. There is a similar arrangement the same distance south of the village, commencing at a group of these mounds near Sec. 26, which were very accurately delineated and surveyed by Mr. Crawford. This group is the one given in the cut. Mr. Lapham calls one bird a cross and the other the trunk and arms of the human body. The animal is 90 feet distant, is too near the man on the plate. It differs from most others of similar form in its slender body, rounded head and recurved cordal extremity. The body is for most of its length $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the legs, head and tail $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, but the tail gradually slopes down to about six inches at the extremity. On the northeast quarter of S. 27 is a group of four mounds of which one has the unusual form represented in the cut.

"The next group is three miles southwest of Mayville, on the northwest quarter of the same section, and occupying the extremity of one of the remarkable ridges so often mentioned," and is represented by a cut. (See figure 21).

We quote again: "It will be observed that all the figures of this group have their heads in one general southwesterly direction, except the cross, which, as is almost always the case, has a course directly opposite. From the extremity of the highest mound, which is on the highest ground, a general view of the whole is obtained, and this may perhaps be regarded as the watch-tower or look-out station. It is 400 feet high."

As to the question whether garden-beds and emblematic mounds were contemporaneous we have this to say, that they generally seem to be contemporaneous. As an example of the association of the two classes of works, we would refer to the series of works which Dr. Lapham has described.

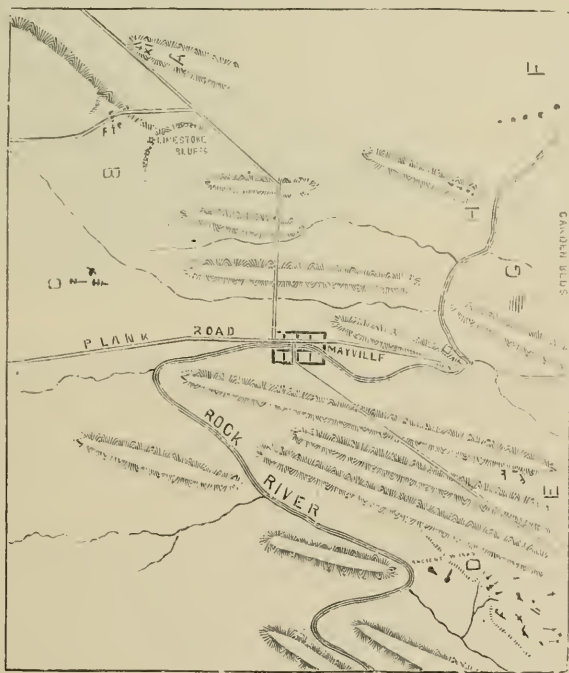


Figure 100.
Map of Works at Mayville.

The situation of the garden-beds in the midst of this series of effigies suggest the idea that there was a permanent village residence in this locality, and that the inhabitants resorted to the various hill tops for their burial places, but placed their cornfield and garden in the valleys. The groups may have been, some of them, used for game-drives, and others for places of assembly.

We call attention to the map and the cuts, for they give indications that here was a residence of a clan. (Figs. 98, 99 and 100).

It will be noticed that there are in this locality many groups of mounds, but they are all connected; the distance between them not exceeding five miles. The topographical character of the country is peculiar. The region is somewhat isolated, but there is a communication between the different parts of it by way of the valleys which intervene between the ridges and along the channels of the river and its branches, so that it would seem that it was the abode of one particular class of people, and on the supposition that the mound-builders were like the Indians in a tribal state, we should say that here a clan once lived. We do not pretend to say what the object of the different groups of effigies was, but we have no doubt that they marked the localities where the customs of this clan were carried out. Probably there was a village site here, and near the village a burial place (H), there were also hunting grounds (D) and places where religious ceremonies were performed (B); there were provisions for defense, such as look-out stations (A), and along with these was the field where the clan raised its vegetables and garden products (G), the garden-beds being clan property and conducted on the communistic system. The effigies may have been clan tokens, but under the peculiar religious system which prevailed they may have served also a practical purpose, the mechanical contrivance and the fetichistic character of the effigies having conspired to make them useful in two ways. In reference to the garden-beds there was but one use: They were erected for horticultural purposes. On this point all will agree.

The effigies are expressive of the totem system of a clan. The fox and wolf, being the predominant form, there is no doubt that it was the settled and permanent abode of some clan which bore a name known to the clans surrounding.

3. The next point we shall refer to will be the association of the emblematic mounds with garden-beds, with a view to the defense which the effigies secured.

The protection of the garden-beds from the incursion of wild beasts would be an object with people who dwelt in the midst of the forest. We have been informed by the early settlers that one of the great hindrances to agriculture in a new country comes from the incursions of wild animals. There are many animals which come out from the forests and commit great ravages. These depredations do not come from the wood-chucks alone, but the bear and coon and many other creatures. It was the custom with the Indians to place rude hedges or brush fences around the cornfields, but with the Mound-builders there seems to have been a more permanent arrangement. The association of the garden-beds with the emblematic mounds was partly for defense.

We give a map of a locality which has been referred to before, namely, that at Indian Prairie, a few miles north of Milwaukee. The name is taken from the fact that there were cornfields here, and that the Indians were accustomed, even after the settlement of the country by the whites, to return to the ground and camp here. There are in the vicinity, the traces of former cultivation, and in the midst of these, groups of effigies the location of which suggests the idea that they were placed here with a view to defense. The peculiarity of the spot is that there was an open prairie here in the midst of a forest, showing that it had been long occupied, and that the fields were not merely the fields of the Indians, but of the Mound-builders as well.

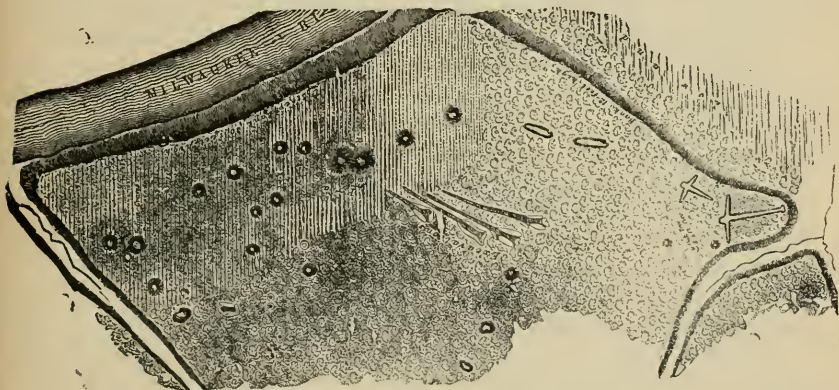


Figure 101.

Map of Works at Indian Prairie.

Dr. Lapham describes it as follows: "We next find in S. 29 and 30, in T. 8, R. 22, on the west side of the river, at a place usually known as Indian Prairie, about five miles north of the city of Milwaukee, a very interesting system or group of works. They are situated on a beautiful level plain elevated about thirty feet above the river, which runs along the eastern border. The bank of the river is nearly perpendicular, forming a safe protection against attack from that direction. It may be seen from the map presented, that these works are further protected on the north and south by deep ravines. The works are all included within these natural defenses. Whether they were ever protected on the west seems doubtful. No trace of embankment or ditch could be found nor any indication of other modes of defense usually adopted by uncivilized nations. There may have been defenses of wood long since decayed. There are two principal mounds situated near the middle of this space. They are both fifty-three feet in diameter at the base, where they almost touch each other, and eight feet high. The southern one has a level area of twenty-five feet in diameter at the top. It often occurs in a group of works like this that one mound is erected on the

tail, there would be a portion of the mud displaced, and this would project above the surface, forming a slight ridge around the body, but the tail would not displace anything. Such is the appearance of the effigies; the earth mould retains the shape of the animal, but the embankment is without any definite form. The intaglio is as purely imitative as if it was a mould, but the wall is merely a fragmentary heap of earth. The distinctively fetichistic character of the pits may be seen in the care with which the effigies were constructed. The mechanical contrivance was also admirable. The hunter could hide himself in the excavation and place his head at the openings between the embankments, and there watch the animals as they passed over the adjoining plats

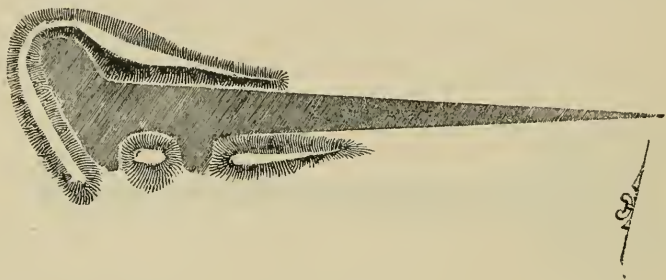
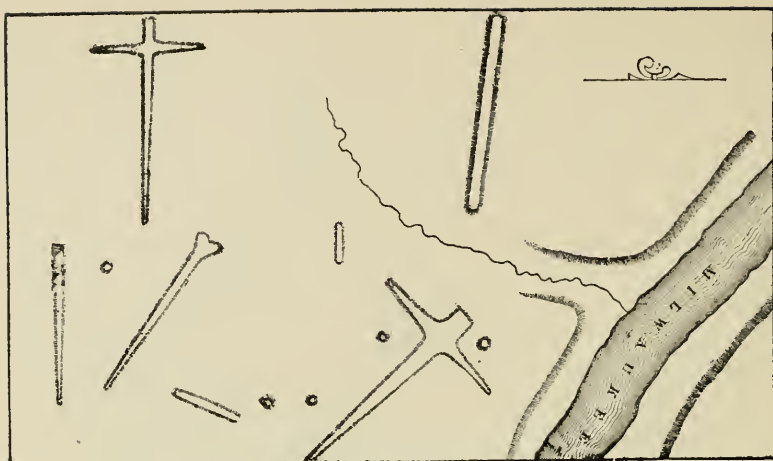


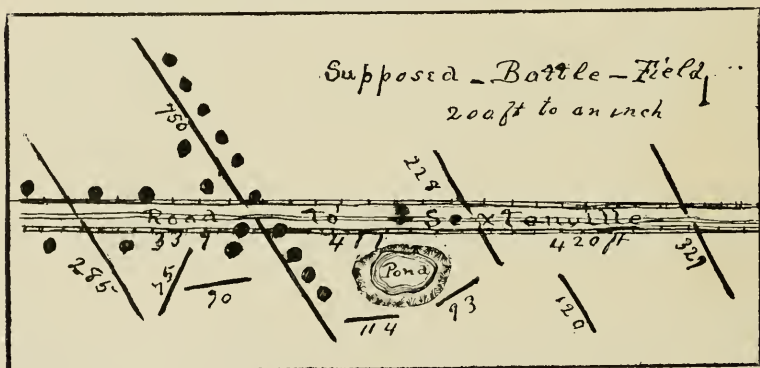
Figure 103.

Intaglio Effigy at Indian Prairie.

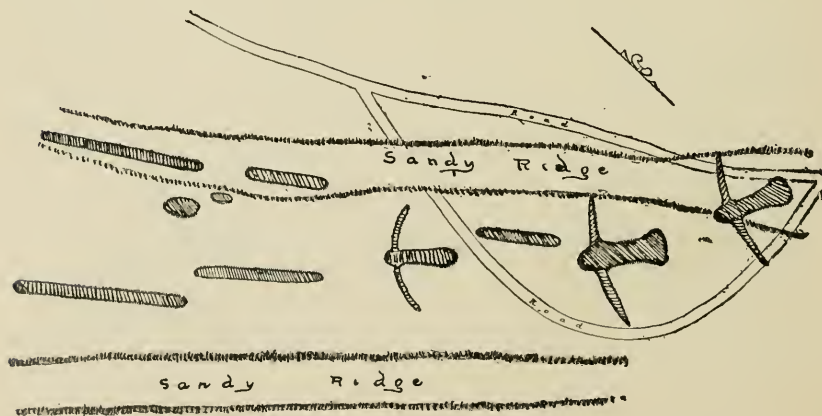
of ground. The connection of the pit with the observatory would indicate that the hunter was in the habit of standing on the summit of the mound and watching the animals as they came out from the forest, but while the animals were passing down into the valley and up the hill he would go down the path and hide himself, so that the field would be apparently unoccupied. The number of the intaglio effigies would indicate the fact that more than one hunter was engaged in watching the game, and that a number of animals were in the habit of visiting the place. The shape of the effigies would indicate the kind of animals which were in the habit of committing depredations. The panther and bear are seen in the Intaglios. The same is true of the locality at Ft. Atkinson. Here, however, the Intaglio is in the shape of a panther and the mound is in the shape of a bear. The bear did not require as much secrecy, and was not as dangerous. Here the hunter was in the habit of running out and hiding behind a long mound or ridge, making the ridge a screen, but in the other place the whole process was conducted with stealth and by the excavations only. The protection of the garden-beds we consider to be the main object of the Intaglio effigies.



EFFIGIES ON MILWAUKEE RIVER.



BURIAL MOUNDS NEAR SEXTONVILLE.



PIGEON EFFIGIES ON THE LEMONWEIR RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

GAME DRIVES AND HUNTING SCREENS AMONG THE MOUNDS.

The use of mounds and earthworks for hunting purposes is the topic which we shall next consider. We have referred to the game drives, which may be found among the Emblematic Mounds, but we now propose to describe these more fully, and to bring before our readers the proofs that certain works were used by hunters for these purpose.

I. We shall first speak of the hunting races which formerly dwelt upon this continent. Our reason for referring to these is because in them we have a picture of the habits and customs which probably prevailed among the Mound Builders. The hunting races of this continent were numerous and widespread; in fact, it would seem as if nearly all the American tribes were hunters. The uncivilized tribes were certainly in the habit of seeking after game and drawing their subsistence from hunting, and even those tribes which were partially civilized were also given to the same pursuit.

1. There are in the writings of the early explorers many descriptions of the hunting races which were once common, and from these we may learn what customs prevailed in prehistoric times. Great changes have taken place in the manner of hunting since the advent of the whites. The bow and arrow and other primitive weapons served the native hunters well, but they required more skill in hunting and drawing near to the game, as they were necessarily used at a short range. The absence of horses also resulted in the same thing. The hunters were obliged to contrive various ways by which they could entrap the game so as to avoid the necessity of chasing them on foot. The modern method of hunting is to mount a horse, and to take the rifle in hand and then ride rapidly and shoot as one rides. But the primitive method was to approach the game by stealth and to shoot at them from hiding places, rarely depending upon the contest of speed for success in overtaking them. We can hardly realize the contrast between the methods of hunting during the prevalence of the stone age and the present methods, except as we read the descriptions

of the early explorers and compare them with the accounts of recent travelers and huntsmen. One thing is noticeable, that all of the hunters in the early times, before the introduction of guns and horses, depended much more on the various contrivances by which they could surround the game and drive them into narrow passage ways, and so get near them and slaughter them with their primitive weapons. The skill of the hunters was exercised in erecting these screens and drives, as much as it was in shooting, though both were combined in many cases. The hunters were well acquainted with the habits of the animals and knew all their haunts and run-ways. They relied upon this knowledge as much as they did upon their own strength of endurance. They frequently moved with their families and all of their possessions into the midst of the regions where the game abounded, and thus became familiar with the animals in their own haunts. They continued wandering about from place to place, according to the season, that they might the better hunt the different kinds of game, but they were always near the haunts of the animals and familiar¹ with their habits. Some of the tribes, to be sure, depended to a certain degree upon the cultivation of maize, and were at certain seasons stationary, making their villages near streams and rich bottom lands during the summer months, but migrated to hunting grounds during fall and winter.

The primitive ways of hunting are very interesting, especially as they come before us in the descriptions of the explorers who witnessed them, and who were much attracted by their novelty.² There is no doubt that these customs were just such as had prevailed among the native races from time immemorial, and we may therefore look to these accounts for illustrations of the hunting habits which were common in the prehistoric times. We must, however, remember one thing, and that is that the native races differed among themselves in their manner of hunting and in all their habits of life, and should therefore consider them in their different geographical locations and their different grades of culture.

2. This brings us then to a second point, the geographical location of the races. The continent of America is divided into belts, each of which was occupied by a different class of

¹ See Parkman's volume on the Oregon trail; *Our Wild Indians*, by Col. R. I. Dodge; *The Red Man and White Man in North America*, by G. A. Ellis; *Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies*.

² Our readers will find the volume edited by Mr. Francis G. Drake, and published by Lippincott & Co., suggestive on this point. It appears from this that even those tribes among whom agriculture was very extensive, such as the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, were hunters. They continued their hunting habits late into history, even up to the time of the war of 1812; and, notwithstanding the missionary work which was done among them, were in the hunting condition at the time of their removal from the Southern States.

people, and presented a different grade of culture; a wonderful correlation having existed between the geography and the social status of the people.¹ We have shown that there were five or six such belts, and that there were also the same number of grades in the social status of the people. These facts we refer to here, for they illustrate the point which we have in view.

The belts of latitude and social grades are as follows: (1.) That belt which is embraced by the Arctic regions. This has always been occupied by the Esquimaux, who are emphatically fishermen. This is the habitat of the fishermen and here we should expect to find tokens indicative of the same mode of life, both in the historic and pre-historic times.

(2.) Next is the belt which we should call the habitat of the hunting races. It is a belt which embraces all that region which lies between the Hudson Bay and the chain of the great lakes, and which is at the present time occupied by the Athabascans and Tinné races.²

(3.) Next to this is the belt which may be said to have belonged to the mingled agricultural and hunting state, as the races occupying it were both agriculturalists and hunters. This belt originally embraced all that region which lies between the great lakes and the valley of the Ohio river, but extended in an irregular line across the continent, and came out upon the Pacific between the mouth of the Columbia river and the Gulf of California region, have figured conspicuously in American history.³ The descriptions given of the tribes occupying this region show that they were agriculturalists, and within certain bounds were also sedentary. We consider them wild tribes, and can hardly think of them as cultivators of the soil, yet they were agriculturalists as well as hunters, and it is only because we read of them in their warlike state that we consider them as we do, merely savages. All the tribes had their own habitat, and within their own bounds were accustomed to follow a life peculiar to themselves, some of them being more advanced than others, but all within this belt had reached a status which was such as we have described.

(4.) A belt of latitude was formerly occupied by races

¹See paper read before the American Association for advancement of science, at Minneapolis, September, 1883. "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," by Albert Gallatin; also, "Our Indian Tribes," by Francis G. Drake. The last two volumes contain maps which are valuable.

²For information on the Tinné races, see Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, Vol. III.

³For information on these tribes see "Morgan's League of the Iroquois," "Parkman's Pioneers of France," and "LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West; also, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," and "Catlin's Indians," and "Indians of Berks County," Pennsylvania, by D. B. Brunner.

which were purely agricultural.¹ This belt is the one which is embraced between the Ohio river and the Gulf of Mexico, or more definitely considered, between the mountains of Tennessee and the Gulf Coast. It was the habitat of the Mobilian race, and was at an early date full of the works of agriculture. We may suppose that even in the times of the Mound Builders that agriculture was common here.

(5.) A belt may be mentioned which formerly, and even at the present time, may be considered as the habitat of village Indians. This is the region which is at present occupied by the Pueblos; a region which is embraced within the bounds of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and a part of Mexico and California. The races which have occupied it are not merely agriculturalists, but are village Indians, for they depend upon manufacturing and other modes of subsistence as well as upon horticulture.

Thus do we see that the geographical locality had the effect to keep certain tribes in the hunting condition, and we may take it for granted that tribes located in certain districts were always hunters. This would prove as true in the pre-historic times as the historic. From this we may learn what was the probable condition of the emblematic Mound Builders. The question has arisen about them whether they were hunters, resembling the later hunting tribes. In what grade shall we place them? What shall we say in reference to their cultus and mode of life? In answer to these questions we would say, that both their geographical location, and the various tokens which they have left behind them, would indicate that they belonged to the hunter class, but were in a grade of cultus where agriculture as well as hunting were the common employments. We would say, however, that the hunting habit was much stronger with them than the agricultural. Still they resembled very much the hunting tribes which are known to history, and differed mainly in the fact that they erected emblematic mounds.

3. A third point arises here. Were the emblematic Mound Builders, Indians? The answer to this depends upon the definition which we give to the terms. There are three ways in which we may use the term Indian: (1.) The native inhabitants of this continent. (2.) The uncivilized races of the continent. (3.) The hunting and savage people who formerly committed such depredations upon the settlers and who are still called the wild Indians. The term Mound Builders also has several definitions. It may mean: (1.) The people who erected mounds, whether in this country or in any other.

¹For information on the agricultural tribes of the Gulf States see Adair and Bartram's *Travels*. Also "A migration legend of the Creek Indians," by A. S. Gatschet, *Library of American Aboriginal Literature*. Vol. IV.

(2.) The people who erected the massive and elaborate works, which are found in certain localities and who were called Mound Builders par excellence; (3.) It may mean the particular people who erected the earth works in some definite locality without regard to their skill or nationality, or the time in which they existed. The decision, then, as to whether the Mound Builders were Indians, must depend upon the class of Mound Builders and the class of Indians about which we are speaking. We are always inclined to answer the question by asking another. What Mound Builders and what Indians? To illustrate: The mounds in Ohio are massive and elaborate structures, and were evidently erected by a people who were advanced in their stage of cultus. The Indians which latterly occupied this territory were a rude, uncultivated people, who were incapable of erecting these works. The supposition is that the original Mound Builders of this locality were at some time, previous to the historic period, driven out from their habitat, and that the wild tribes came in and occupied the region. This migration of the race may have been owing to the aggressions of the Iroquois, or possibly to the advent of the white man; but it was sufficient to make an entire change in the population.

Similar changes may have occurred in other regions. There is no certainty that the races or tribes which were found in the midst of the mounds and earth works of the Gulf States, were the descendants of the Mound Builders, for the migration of the races would render this doubtful.

In reference to the emblematic mounds, however, we have this to say: That the people who erected them were so similar in their habits and modes of life to the tribes which occupied the region at the opening of history, that we have no hesitation in saying that they were hunters as well as agriculturalists, and that the hunting habits of the later races furnish good illustrations of the customs which prevailed among them.

II. We turn, then, to the consideration of the Emblematic Mounds, as built by hunters.

The first evidence we shall give is the fact that wild game so abounded here. The testimony of all the early explorers is to the same effect. In reading their narratives, we frequently come upon descriptions of the wild animals which they saw. These animals were unfamiliar to them, and they did not know even their names, yet the narrations shows that many wild beasts abounded here, and that the region was emphatically hunting ground.

The first author which we shall cite, is Marquette the missionary.

This devout missionary, in the year 1673, passed from Green Bay up the Fox River, across the Portage and down the Wisconsin. He is supposed to have been the first one to discover

the upper Mississippi. He was attended by Joliet and five Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. His journal is interesting, as it describes the natural products of the country, and especially it brings before us the different kind of wild animals which there abounded. We quote various sentences which touch upon these points. The first nation he came to was called the Folles—Avoines (Menominees), or *the nation of wild oats*. "We left this bay (Green Bay) to go into a river (Fox River) that discharges itself therein. It abounds in bustards, duck and other birds, which are attracted there by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. We next came to a village of the Maskoutens, or "*nation of fire*." "*The French have never before passed beyond the Bay of Puans. This Bourg consists of three several nations, viz.: Miamies, Maskoutens and Kickapoos. * * * I took pleasure in looking at this Bourg. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, from whence we look over an extensive prairie, interspersed with groves and trees. The soil is very fertile, and produces large crops of corn.*" The river upon which we rowed, and had to carry our canoes, looks more like a cornfield than a river, inasmuch that we can hardly find its channel. As our guides had frequently been at this portage, they knew the way, and helped us to carry our canoes, over land, to the other river, a distance of about two and one-half miles, from which they returned home, leaving us in an unknown country. * * *

"The river upon which we embarked is called Mesconsin. The country through which it flows is beautiful. The groves are so dispersed in the prairies that it makes a noble prospect. We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and buffaloes in great numbers. We came into the Mississippi on the 17th of June, 1673. We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to the 42° N. latitude. Here we perceived the country change its appearance, the islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards and swans. There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. We met, from time to time, monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes that, at first, we took them to be large trees which threatened to upset us. We saw, also, a

¹The word Maskoutens means prairie, but the nation of fire, called fire nation, is by some supposed to have been derived from the prairie fires.

This village of the Maskoutens is supposed to have been situated near Portage City. There are many emblematic mounds in this vicinity. "We were informed that three leagues from the Maskoutens we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi."

The location of this portage and the marshes described, has been identified by the author, and the description have been found to be accurate and graphic.

²This statement necessitates us to modify the assertion made in our last article, that Marquette did not see cornfields. Marquette evidently did see cornfields, but we do not know as he witnessed the garden beds which we were then describing, or that he saw or at least recognized the mounds which interest us so much.

hideous monster (a wolf). His head was like that of a tiger, his nose was sharp, and somewhat resembled a wild cat; his beard was long, his ears stood upright, the color of his head was gray and his neck black. He looked upon us for some time, but as we came near him our oars frightened him away.
* * * *

"Having descended the river as far as $41^{\circ} 28'$ we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the *Pisikious* that of other animals. We called the *pisikious* the wild buffaloes because they very much resemble our domestic oxen. They are not so long, but twice as large. * * * The Indians hide themselves when they shoot at them, otherwise they would be in great danger of losing their lives. They follow them at great distance, but for loss of blood they are unable to follow them. They graze upon the banks of rivers, and I have seen 400 in a herd together." * * * "The Illinois are well formed and very nimble. They are skilled with their bows and rifles. They make excursions to the west, to capture slaves. Those nations are entirely ignorant of iron tools. Their knives, axes and other implements are made of flint and sharp stones. They live by hunting and on Indian corn, of which they always have a plenty. They sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those whose seed is red. Every one has his peculiar god, whom they call Manitou. It is sometimes a stone, a bird, a serpent, or anything else that they dream of in their sleep. They believe that this Manitou will prosper their sports of fishing, hunting and other enterprises.
* * * *

"As we were descending the river, we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted on them, and upon which the bravest Indians dare not look. They are as large as a calf, with head and horns like a goat; their eyes red, beard like a tiger's and a face like a man's. Their tails are so long that they pass over their heads and between their fore legs, under their belly and ending like a fish's tail. They are painted red, green and black. They are so well drawn that I can not believe they were drawn by the Indians; and for what purpose they were made, seems to me a great mystery. As we fell down the river, and as we were discoursing upon these monsters, we heard a great rushing and bubbling of water, and small islands of floating trees coming from the mouth of the Pekitanoni (the Missouri) with such rapidity that we could not trust ourselves to go near."

These extracts from Marquette's journal show what animals abounded in the region. They also make known the superstitious feeling which the Indians had toward animal figures. It is not known whether these inscriptions or pictures were placed upon the rocks by the Indians, but they correspond to the Manitous, which were common among the Algonquins.

Another extract will show the superstition which prevailed :

"After having gone about twenty leagues to the south, we met another river called Ouabouskigou (the Ohio), which runs into the Mississippi 36° N. Before we arrived there, we passed through a most formidable passage, to the Indians, who believe that a Manitou or demon resides there, to devour travellers. This demon is only a bluff of rocks, against which the river runs with great violence, and being thrown back by the rocks, an idol near it, the water makes a great noise, and flows with great rapidity through a narrow channel, which is certainly dangerous to canoes."

Marquette descended the latitude to 33° N., and reached a village on the riverside called Mitchigamea, supposed to be the site of the present town of Helena. "Here," he says, "we judged from the bellowing of the buffaloes that some prairies were near. We saw quails, and shot a parrot which had half of its head red, the neck yellow, and the rest of the body green. The Indians made a great noise, and appeared in armies. They were armed with bows and arrows, clubs, axes and bucklers, and commenced attacking us. These Indians are very courteous. We then ascended the Mississippi, with great difficulty, against the current, and left it in the latitude of 38° N., to enter another river (Illinois), which took us to the lake of Illinois (Michigan), which is a much shorter way than through the river Mesconsin (Wisconsin), by which we entered the Mississippi. I never saw a more beautiful country than we found on this river. The prairies are covered with buffaloes, stags, goats, and the rivers and lakes with swans, ducks, geese, parrots and beavers. The river upon which we sailed was wide, deep and placid for sixty-five leagues, and navigable most all the year round. There is a portage of only half a league into the lake of the Illinois (Michigan). We found on the banks of this river, a village called Kuilka, consisting of seventy-four cabins. They received us very kindly, and we promised to return to instruct them. The chief and most of the youth of this village accompanied us to the lake, from whence we returned to the Bay of Puans (Green Bay) about the end of September."

Another description of this same region is given by Daniel Cox, who wrote in 1789, about one hundred years after the time of Marquette. He first describes the country to the west of Lake Michigan, called then the Illinouecks: "The country surrounding this lake, especially toward the south, is very charming to the eye. The meadows, fruit trees and forests, together with the fowls, wild geese, etc., affording most things for the support and comfort of life, beside the Indian corn with which the natives abound. There ramble about in great herds, especially about the bottom of this lake, infinite quantities of wild kine, some hundreds usually together, which is a great

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part of the subsistence of the savages, who live upon them while the season lasts, for at those times they leave the town quite empty." He next describes the Bay of the Poutouatamies, or Green Bay, and says: "Into the bottom comes the fair river Miscoquaqui (Fox), after a course of two hundred miles. This river is remarkable upon divers accounts; first, when you ascend it fifty leagues, there is a carriage a little above a league and a half, afterward you meet with a lovely river, Mesconsin, which carries you down into Meschacebe; next upon this river, especially near the carriage, is a country famous for beaver hunting, like that of Bakinam; thirdly, this river and others emptying into it abound in that corn called Malonim (wild rice), which grows in the water and marshy, wet places, as in the Indies, Turkey, Carolina, etc., but much more like our oats, only longer, bigger and better than either that or Indian corn, and is the chief food of many nations hereabout and elsewhere. The nations who dwell on this river are Outugamis, Malominis, Nikic, Oualeanitou, Sacky and the Poutouatamis before mentioned."

Another author who has described the animals which were hunted by the Indians, is Charlevoix, who wrote letters descriptive of the Canadas about the year 1722.* He describes a number of animals, such as the elk, deer and cougar or panther, as found among the woods of Canada. These, we have reason to believe, also formerly abounded in Wisconsin, for hunters and early settlers frequently came in contact with them. It is stated, in a volume recently published, that the Caribou or American reindeer is also occasionally found in the northern part of the State. Charlevoix's descriptions are worthy of attention. He says: "The Indians look upon the elk as a good omen, and believe that those who dream of them often may expect a long life; it is quite the contrary with the bear, except on the approach of the season for hunting those creatures. There is also a very diverting tradition, among the Indians, of a great elk, of such a monstrous size, that the rest are like pissmires in comparison of him; his legs, say they, are so long that eight feet of snow are not the least incumbrance to him; his hide is proof against all manner of weapons, and he has a fort of arms proceeding from his shoulder, which he uses as we do ours. He is always attended by a vast number of elks, which form his court, and which render him all the services he requires. The elk has other enemies besides the Indians, and who carry on full as cruel a war against him. The most terrible of all these is the carcajou or Quincajou, a kind of cat with a tail so long that he twists it several times round his body, and with a skin of a brownish red. As soon

* See Charlevoix's *Travels*, Vol. I. See *Sport with the Gun and Rod in American Woods and Waters*—Article *Caribou Hunting*, by Charles C. Ward.

as this hunter comes up with the elk, he leaps upon him and fastens upon his neck, about which he twists his long tail, and then cuts his jugular. The elk has no means of shunning his disaster but by flying to the water the moment he is seized by his dangerous enemy. The carcajou, who cannot endure the water, quits his hold immediately; but if the water happens to be at too great distance, he will destroy the elk before he reaches it. This hunter, too, as he does not possess the faculty of smelling, with the greatest acuteness, carries three foxes a hunting with him, which he sends on the discoveries. The moment they have got scent of an elk, two of them place themselves by his side, and the bird takes post behind him; and all three manage matters so well, by harassing the prey, that they compel him to go to the place where they left the carcajou, with whom they afterwards settle about the dividing the prey. Another wile of the carcajou, in order to seize his prey, is to climb upon a tree, where, crouched along some projecting branch, he waits till an elk passes, and leaps upon him the moment he sees him within his reach."

Thus, we see from the narratives, that wild animals were numerous in the region, and that it was a favorable place for hunting. The character of the country would also favor this idea. There are in the State extensive forests, which, even at the present time, abound with wild deer, bear, wolves, foxes, and other wild animals. There are at present few elk or moose in these forests, and cougars or panthers are rarely seen; the probability is that these animals were once common here. The prairies, which are interspersed among the oak openings, furnish flocks of prairie chickens, pigeons, and quails, while the marshes and small ponds are frequented by the heron, blue and white crane, bitterns and loons. If the large game, such as we have mentioned, are not here yet, there is no doubt, then, that many animals which are now only found in distant territories, such as the moose, elk, buffalo, bear, wolf, panther, antelope and various kinds of deer were common here at the time of the Mound Builders, and were hunted by them. There are many wild animals still found in the State, such as foxes, prairie wolves, deer, and the various fur-bearing creatures. All of these were evidently the occupants of the marshes, lakes, prairies and forests, and frequent the very places which are now covered with the effigies, showing that there is a correspondence between the effigies and the native fauna. If some of the effigies are at present without their corresponding object, yet the fact that these very creatures formerly abounded here would prove that the Mound Builders had these before them as their model, and erected the mounds as images, which were true to life.

2. We shall take the effigies, then, as evidence that the Mounds were built by hunters. It is remarkable that the

effigies are now found by the side of the lakes and rivers and in the very places which the different animals frequented.

(1.) The location of these effigies convey the idea that the builders of them were familiar with the habits of the different animals, and that they knew the very places which they haunted. The effigies are not indiscriminately scattered over the country, as if they were arbitrary signs which would merely indicate the place where the builders had encamped, but they are studiously located, as if particular regard had been paid to the habits of the animals which they represent. This peculiarity of the effigies is worthy of notice. We have already suggested that the emblematic mounds may have been totems. If they were totems or tribal signs exclusively, we should expect they would be located near the camping places of the people, and that no regard would be paid to the animals which abounded in the region. The tribes, in that case, would introduce the effigies which would serve as tribal signs or totems, even if they were the effigies of animals which were not found here at all. There is, however, so close a correlation between the emblematic mounds and the native fauna of this region, as to give rise to the idea that the inhabitants took the animals which constituted the fauna as their models, and imitated them in their effigies, and that they paid more regard to the habits of the animals than they did to their own notions as to tribal signs or totems. The fact that the effigies are placed in the favorite haunts, feeding places and drive ways of the various animals, and that the effigies were imitative of the very animals which were known to have made their haunts in the particular locality, would indicate that the hunter idea was very powerful with the people who erected the effigies.

(2.) It would seem that nearly every creature which had existed on the soil had been imitated by these remarkable earth works. It has been supposed that the effigies were exclusively tribal signs, but the animals imitated are too many and too varied for this. Totems are generally confined to a certain fixed number, and are supposed to represent the names of the clan, and had no regard to the number or variety of animals which were known. These totems might be repeated as the clan or tribe wandered from place to place, but in that case the same animals would appear many times in the effigies, and there would be but little variety in them. Here, however, we have not a limited number of effigies, but an immense number, and so varied that we conclude, that the object was to represent the animals themselves, rather than the so-called animal tribes. The imitative character of the effigies is then forced upon us, even to the eclipse of their totemic character.

(3.) Another point is worthy of notice. There are very few foreign or exogenous creatures found among the effigies. The animals imitated are such as belong to the fauna of the region,

and, with one or two exceptions, do not embrace any other. The elephant mound has been referred to, and some would claim that this effigy proves familiarity with animals, which have long since become extinct, and they would, on this account, assign a very great age to the mounds. Others think they recognize dragons and crosses among the effigies, and they conclude, on this account, that the effigy builders were familiar with the historic emblems of foreign countries. They take these emblems as signs of the migratory character of the Mound Builders, and as evidence of the European or Asiatic origin, but the fact that there is such a correspondence between the effigies and native fauna of this region, as it has been made known by the description of early explorers and settlers, proves that the builders of them imitated the wild animals only, and it is doubtful if they had an acquaintance with these historic emblems, or with extinct animals.

(4.) We have, in our former paper, given the illustrations of the different kinds of animals which were represented by the effigies, and have referred to the remarkable classification of these animals. A few words may be added, however, in reference to this classification. We have learned from Maj. J. W. Powell and Dr. Washington Matthews, that the Indians of the West have a way of classifying the animals which is peculiar to themselves. They classify them, it appears, according to those habits which they, as hunters, have come to recognize in the different animals, as follows: 1. Rovers. 2. Prowlers. 3. Climbers. 4. Creepers. 5. Swimmers. 6. Flyers. This classification corresponds with the one which we have recognized already in the mounds.

The division which we have made of the effigies, judging from the different manner in which they were constructed, was as follows: 1. Those which represented the land animals. 2. The water animals. 3. The amphibious creatures. 4. Birds or creatures of the air. We, however, made sub-divisions of the land animals: (1). The grazing, represented as having horns. (2). Fur bearing, represented as having long tails. We stated that there was a class of tailless animals which we found difficult to put into any division or sub-division, and that here was a point which needed to be cleared up. The classification which has been derived from the Indians removes the difficulty. If we divide the land animals into three classes: (1.) Rovers. (2.) Prowlers. (3.) Climbers, and leave the amphibious creatures as identical with the (4) creepers, and the water animals as identical with (5) swimmers, and the birds as identical with (6) flyers, we shall have exactly the same classification in the mounds which is found to be prevalent among the Indians. We give a series of cuts here to illustrate the new classification, and to show that the effigy builders were as familiar with the habits of the animals as are the wild Indians

at the present day. The rovers are represented with horns; the prowlers are represented with long tails; the climbers,™ as a general division, may be said to be represented as without tails, and the creepers are represented with four legs, as if sprawling. The swimmers are without legs, and the flyers are recognized by their wings. The cuts which we use illustrate the point. See Figs. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110.



Fig. 104.



Fig. 105.



Fig. 106.



Fig. 107.



Fig. 109.



Fig. 108.

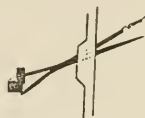


Fig. 110.

The elk and buffalo (104) represent rovers; the fox, wolf and mink (105) represent prowlers; the bear and wild cat (107) represent climbers; the turtle (108) represent creepers; the swan (109) and hawk represent flyers. These figures are all taken from existing effigies; the wolf, mink, and swan, and turtle from a survey which Dr. Lapham made late in life; the elk from a survey by H. M. Canfield. The former group has been visited by the author, and have been found to be situated on the banks of two of the small lakes which surround the high prairie at Summit, in Waukesha Co. The mink and wolf and turtle were near the borders of a pond, and may possibly have been designed as screens behind which hunters would hide, as they watched the game which resorted there. The swan was on the bank of a lake called Neosho, and may also have served as a screen. It is an interesting effigy, as it is the only one which imitates the swan which we have seen. About half a mile from the swan is the nondescript earthwork, which may be seen in figure 110. It is situated on the prairie, remote from the lake, and is now covered by the cultivated field, and garden, or doorway of Mr. Sawyer, a resident farmer. A house has been built upon one end, and the road crosses the middle part of the double walls, which cross one another in the shape of a pair of scissors, and are about 600 feet long. They are slightly raised above the surface of the ground, but are plainly discernible. The object of this effigy is unknown. As to the correspond-

ence between the method of representing the animals by the emblematic mound builders and the Indians, we have remarkable illustrations in the inscriptions found in the cave at West Salem. Here there are not only pictures of the animals, but the Indians shooting them with bow and arrow. The cut given herewith illustrates the point. See Figs. 111, 112, 113, 114.

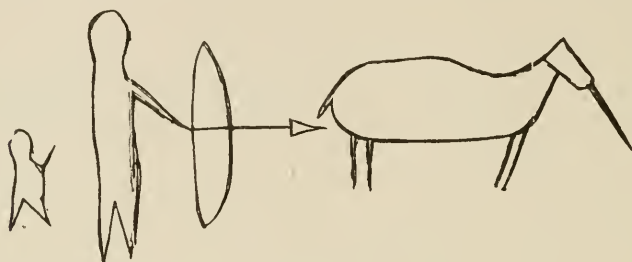


Fig. 111.

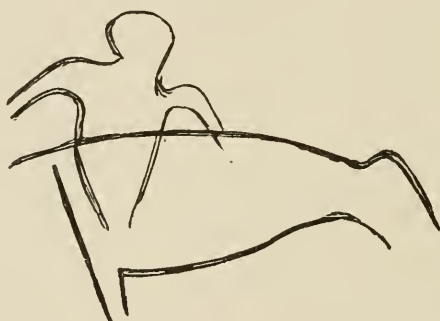


Fig. 112.



Fig. 113.

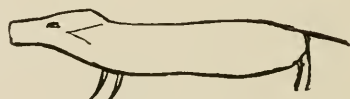


Fig. 114.

A hunting scene has been found among the mounds. If we take the Davenport tablets as genuine, we may say that we have a picture which represents not only the animals prevalent, but the manner of hunting them. A comparison between the tablet and the inscribed rocks in the caves, brings out considerable resemblance, and aids us in understanding the emblematic mounds. The pictures of the animals

in both the tablet and the cave, are really ruder than are the images contained in the mounds. There are no representations of hunting in the emblematic mounds, yet it has been maintained that the bow and arrow are represented. See Fig. It is possible, also, that the man mounds were intended to represent hunters. It is a remarkable fact, however, that many of the man mounds are found near the game drives, and in the midst of the effigies of the wild animals, and it is possible that the intent was to represent the hunter as watching the game as it passed into the drive-ways. Occasionally a man mound is accompanied with a panther or some other beast or bird of prey, as if the hunter had associated himself with some animal, and both together were following after the game as it fled.

There is one point in connection with the pictured cave at West Salem. There are certain marks which have not been interpreted. Fig. 115. It is possible, however, that they were intended to represent arrows. Dr. D. G. Brinton has given an interpretation of the so-called turkey tracks found in the inscribed rocks at Barnesville, Ohio. He thinks they were intended to represent arrows.* If this is so, then we should conclude that the marks which so resemble rude pictures of chickens' legs and feet, were also designed to represent arrow heads.



Fig. 115.



Fig. 116.

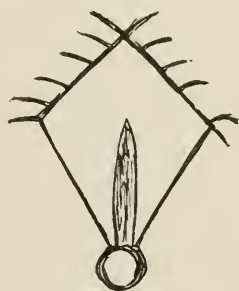


Fig. 117.

* See Report of the Academy of Science for Philadelphia, for Nov., 1884.

There is no doubt that these were intended to represent the sign language of Indians, for the figure of an Indian with head-dress is found among the inscribed figures. The symbol of the sun is also contained among the inscriptions. The meaning of the picture is unknown, yet it is possible that it is descriptive of a hunting scene, for there are wild animals and figures of men scattered indiscriminately, and the attitudes of the human figures indicate this intent.¹ The similarity between the animals in the inscriptions and those in the effigies is noticeable. They prove to be the same as those which have been described by explorers as once abounding in this region. The rude way of portraying the animals, and the imperfect method of making a picture of a hunting scene in the inscriptions, may explain how hunting symbols may be recognized among the emblematic mounds. There are those who maintain that they have identified the bow and arrow, and even the stone arrow head or spear head in the shape of the mounds.² On this point we express a doubt and yet there may have been many such symbols, though they have rarely been recognized among the mounds.

III. We turn, then, to the hunting habits of the later races for our illustration of the use of the emblematic mounds for hunting purposes. 1. There are many descriptions of the customs which were common among the hunters, and these descriptions may well be quoted here. We have descriptions furnished by the Jesuit Fathers, by Champlain, by Charlevoix, and many other travelers, which bring before us not only the kind of animals which abounded in this region, but the methods which the hunters used in entrapping them. The first point we shall make is, that the same game abounded here that was followed by the hunters elsewhere, and that the method of entrapping these animals, which have been described by the explorers of Canada and the region farther east, were probably the same as those used by the emblematic mound builders.

The Indian tribes were not accustomed to erect earthworks for hunting purposes, but they were in the habit of constructing wooden palisades or fences, and into these frequently drove wild animals in great numbers, and then inflicted upon them immense slaughter. These wooden contrivances resemble the various earthworks which are found among the emblematic mounds, and we believe that they furnish an explanation of the use of these earthworks. We would, therefore, call especial attention to the descriptions given. We quote from Charlevoix.³ He says: "The most northern nations of Canada have a way

¹ See Fig. III, page 95, also Fig. 120, also Fig. 56.

² See Lapham's *Antiquities* page 68, also Pl. XLII. See the figure of Bow and Arrow so-called, in *Am. Antiquarian*, Vol. VI., No. 5.

³ See Charlevoix *Journal*. Vol. I., p. 200.

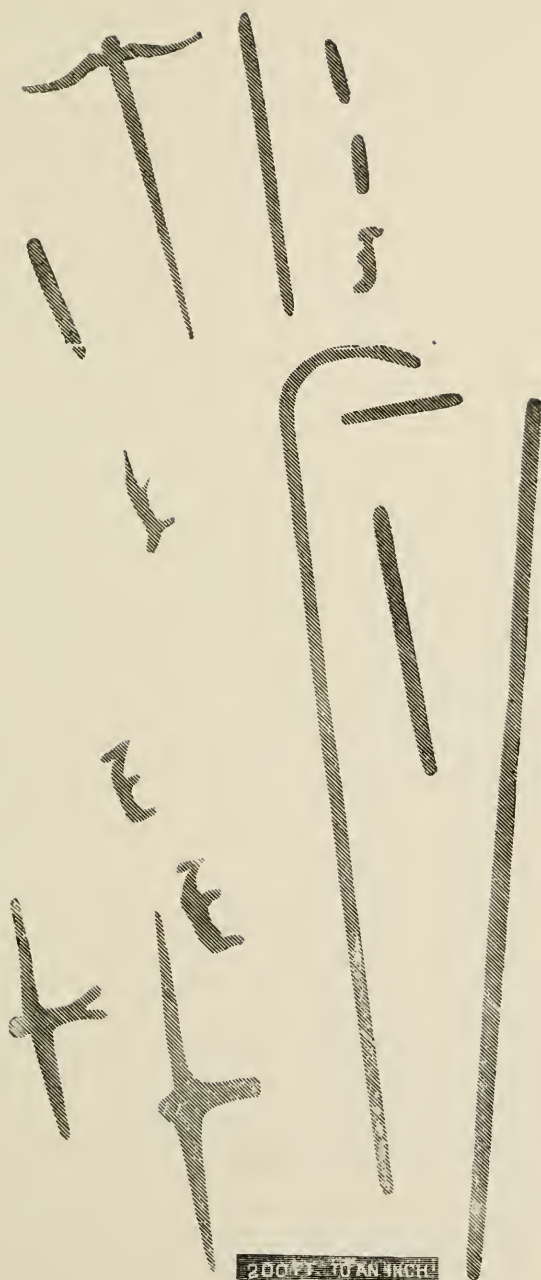


PLATE IX.—Game Drive in Sauk County, Wis.

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of hunting the elk, very simple and free from danger. The hunters divide into two bands, one embarks on board canoes, which canoes keep at a small distance from each other, forming a pretty large semi-circle, the two ends of which reach the shore. The other body, which remains ashore, perform pretty much the same thing and at first surround a large tract of ground. Then the huntsmen let loose their dogs and raise all the elks within bounds of this semi-circle, and drive them into the river or lake, which they no sooner enter than they are fired upon from all the canoes, and not a shot misses, so that rarely any one escapes."

Champlain mentions another way of hunting, not only the elk, but also the deer and caribou, which has some resemblance to this. They surround a space of ground with posts, interwoven with branches of trees, leaving a pretty narrow opening, where they place nets made of thongs of raw hides. This space is of a triangular form and from the angle in which the entry is, they form another but much larger triangle. Thus the two enclosures communicate with each other at the two angles. The two sides of the second triangle are also enclosed with posts interwoven in the same manner, and the hunters draw up in one line from the basis of it. Then they advance, keeping the line entire, raising prodigious cries, and striking against something which resounds greatly. The game thus roused and being able to escape by none of the sides, can only fly into the other enclosure, where several are taken at their first entering by the neck or horns. They make great efforts to disentangle themselves, and sometimes carry away or break the thongs. They also sometimes strangle themselves, or at least give the huntsmen time to dispatch them at leisure. Even those who escape are not a whit advanced, but find themselves enclosed in a space too narrow to be able to shun the arrows which are shot at them from all hands.

2. The superstitions of the Indians explain many things about the effigies. The dreams of the hunter are always significant. The hunting expeditions are scarcely ever undertaken unless the dreams are favorable. The image of the animal hunted for, must appear to the hunter in his dreams, or the expedition will prove a failure. This dependence upon dreams, differs from the totem system, and yet it is similar to it. It is well known that the animal which appeared in a dream to the young man at the time of his initiation, always served as a protector to him. The name of this animal was his private name. The image of the animal was carried with him as a private charm while he was living, and a picture of the animal was placed over his body at his death, so that he was known by the figure which was his dream totem. The hunter depended upon the dream in the same way, but it was for a shorter time. These superstitions illustrate the use

of the effigies in connection with the game drives. They show that the emblematic mound-builders depend upon the images of the animals for success in hunting. We do not know that the effigies represented their dreams, but we have seen so many evidences that the effigies were used as fetiches that we conclude that they did represent dream animals.

We imagine that the hunters embodied their dreams in the effigies, especially those which are found in connection with the game drives. The effigies then, which were erected near the game drives, we may suppose, were the animal Divinities under whose charge they continued their hunting expeditions. They may be regarded then as representatives of the animals which appeared in their dreams and assisted them in their hunting. They would be, at the same time, signs of success. The hunters having placed them near the feeding grounds or the drive-ways, would naturally go to the same places, every time that their dreams allowed them to follow the particular kind of game which they sought after. The signs of former success would be there, and so the effigies would be an encouragement to them. As mechanical contrivances, the game drives were useful, but they were especially useful, as giving encouragement to the hunter and making him bold in the chase.

IV. We shall next give the evidence that the emblematic mounds were used at times for hunting purposes. 1. We shall first give a description of certain game drives which have come under our own observation. In the vicinity of Beloit is a group of works which we believe to have been designed for this purpose. It is situated near the banks of Rock River, on the first terrace, just below the bluff, which forms the second terrace. The group is composed of two pair of parallel ridges, or long mounds. The ridges vary from 100 to 180 feet in length, and are about 90 feet apart. They run at right angles to the river, but are pointed toward the bluff and form a line with a break in the bluff. Near this break and between the two sets of parallel ridges, is a low swail or water-course, at the foot of which there was formerly a ford across the river. The situation of the group of long mounds, between the ford and the break in the bluff, would indicate that the intent of the builders was to place them in the line of a common runway, and that they were designed to be artificial structures between which the game would be induced to pass. Confirmatory of this idea is the fact that near the parallel drive-ways and either side of them are effigies. These are the effigies of buffaloes, giving the idea that here was the natural runway of buffalo herds. The effigies do not reach entirely across the space between the ridges, and yet they reach far enough to convey the idea that they may have been used as screens behind which the hunter hid. Possibly an artificial screen of wood extended across the open space, and other screens may have been

placed upon the summit of the ridges. The most remarkable feature of the locality is that on the summit of the bluffs, close by, there are two or three other groups or clusters of emblematic mounds, which are so situated as to give an extensive outlook over the surrounding region. The effigy most prominent in this group is that of the turtle, an animal which we have often noticed, to be commonly used as an outlook. The view from

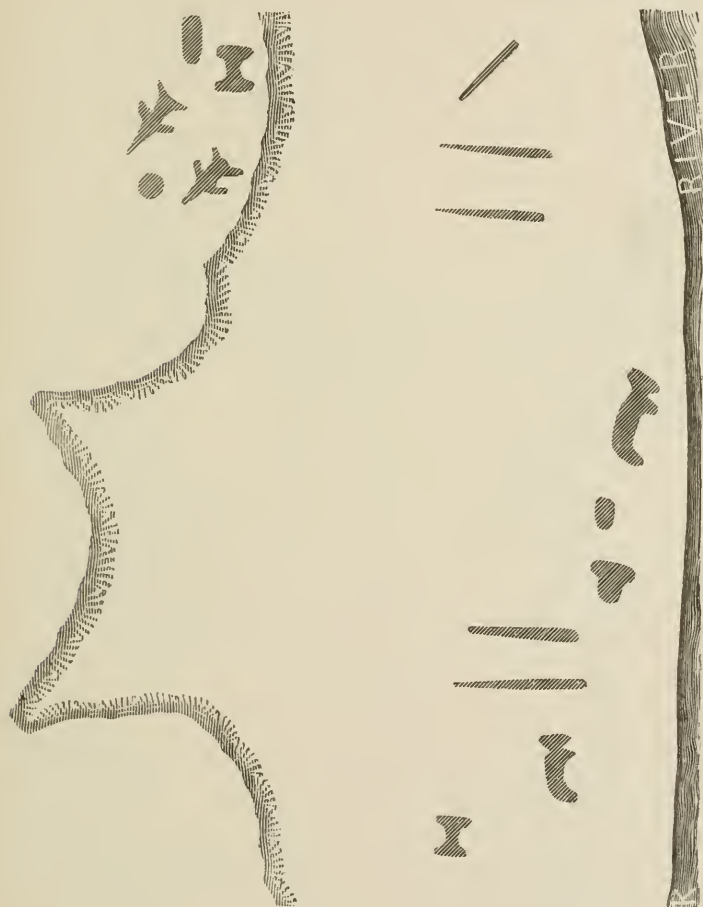
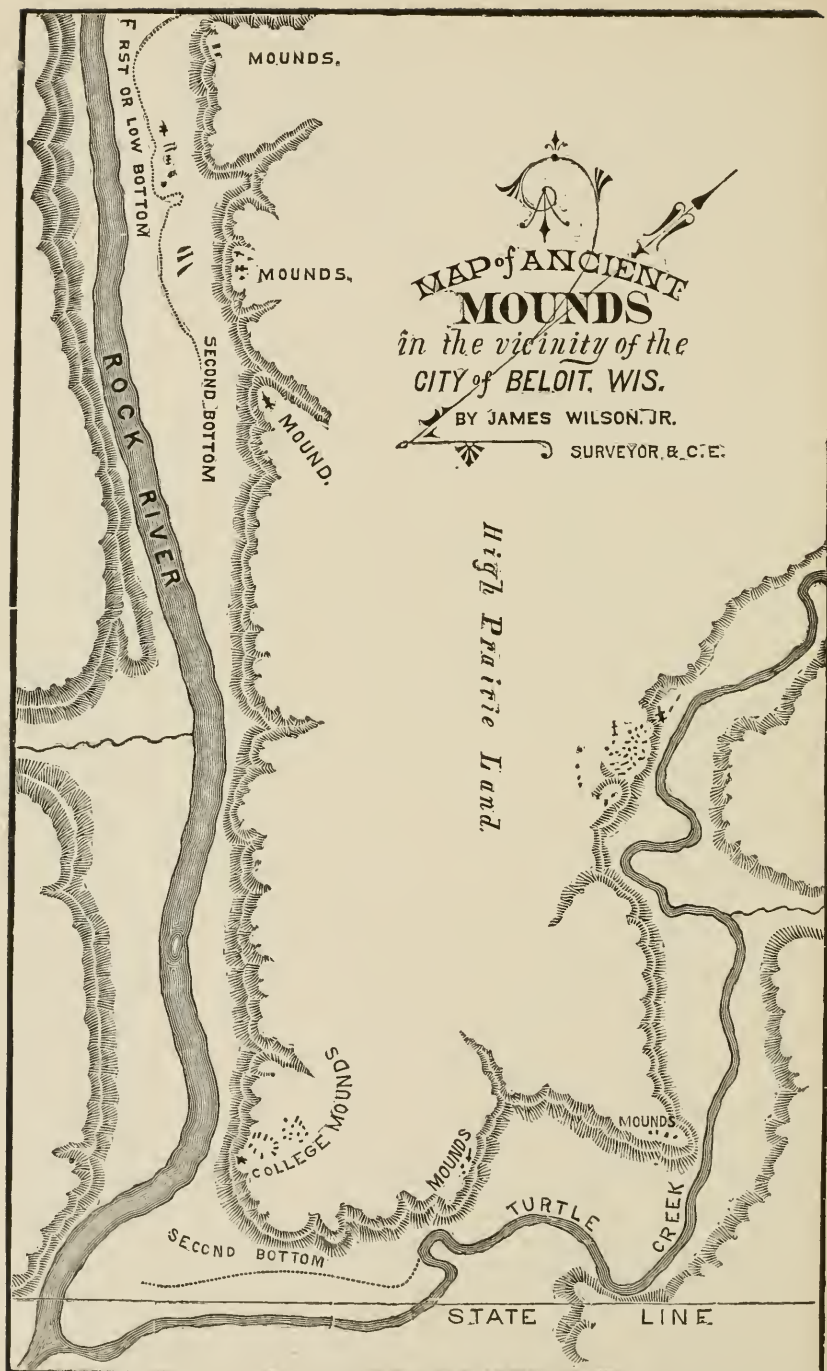


Fig. 118.
Buffalo Drive at Beloit.

these so-called outlooks is very extensive. They at first, might be taken as signal stations, and the group below them might be considered as marking the site of a permanent village, but there are several objections to this. The situation of the group on the bottom-land is not favorable for a village site. The outlook from the summit of the mounds on the bluff is too extensive for them to be used as signal stations. The break in the bluff and the ford would serve well for a game drive, but would be



of no advantage to a village site. Half a mile below the game drive is a remarkable effigy of a lizard. This is situated on the spur of the bluff, and from the summit of it there is a most extensive view of all the surrounding country. One standing upon this mound can look over the prairies to either side of the river, east and west, and get a view of the hills which bound the horizon so as to compass nearly all the sides. These hills are so far away that no one could see an enemy if approaching at that distance. If, however, the object was to watch the approach of a herd of buffalo, the outlook would serve a very useful purpose. The black mass formed by a moving herd could be seen at this distance, while a whole army of hostile men could not be perceived. We conclude that this effigy was

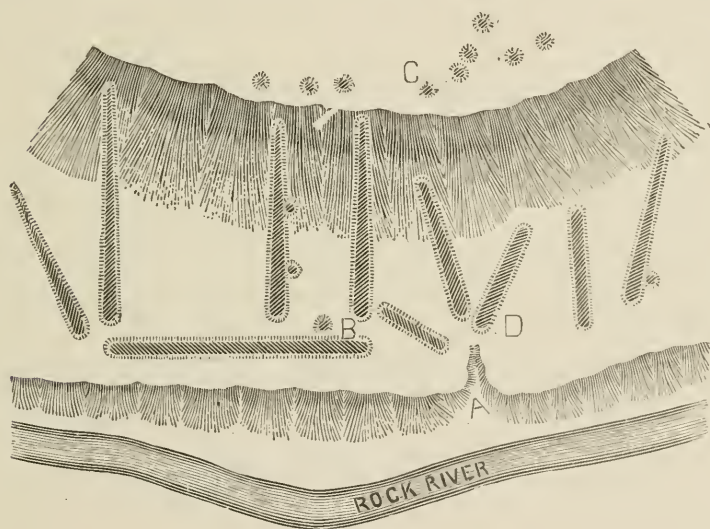


Fig. 119.

placed at this particular spot for the purpose of watching the herd of buffaloes as they came near the ford and runway, and that the three groups upon the bluff, and the two clusters of groups on the bottom-land were all to be connected together as marking the different parts of a buffalo game drive.*

A second group which we shall describe will confirm this supposition. It is a group situated at Indian Ford, some twenty miles north of Beloit. This group is also composed of a series of long mounds or ridges, which are placed parallel with one another, but also run at right angles to the river bank. The situation of the group is similar to that at Beloit. It is near a ford. It is between the extensive prairies east of the river and another series of prairies north and west. It is near

*See Fig. 118, also map of works at Beloit, upper left hand corner.

the mouth of the Catfish, and at the end of a tongue of land which is contained between the forks of the two rivers. It is in just such a place as would prove favorable for a game drive.

The character of the group differs somewhat from that at Beloit, yet resembles it in many particulars. The parallel ridges are of about the same length, 150 to 190 feet, and the same distance apart. They run toward the summit of the bluff, but taper to a point, so that they disappear near the hilltop, and become lost in the ground. See Fig. 119. At the lower end the ridges are higher and wider. We can imagine that the animals which were hastening toward the river, might easily be driven into these parallel passages, without noticing the mounds or even the screens which might be placed on them. At the lower end of the trap or drive there are certain long mounds or ridges, which connect the parallels and form a wide enclosure or trap. See B, in the figure. There are passage-ways between these long mounds and the parallels, but they are so narrow as to give an outlet to only a few animals at a time. On either side of this enclosure are ridges D which run out diagonally, as if the purpose was to drive the herd into the wide opening at the upper end and crowd them into a narrow compass and then use the ridges as platforms and screens from which the hunters can shoot into the herd. What is most remarkable about the group is that there is a break A in the bank of the river which looks as if it had been used as a path, and had been worn down by the feet of the animals as they escaped from the drive. Generally buffaloes pitch over the banks of rivers, and plunge into the water without stopping, but here the herd seem to have been impeded by the artificial structure, and only escaped individually and separately.

Another group similar to this has been surveyed by Dr. Lapham. See Fig. 120. It is situated near the Wisconsin River, on S. 8, 7, 8, R. 4.

It consists of a series of oblong and conical tumuli and an effigy of a bird. The tumuli are composed of sand. "The bird is of the same material, and we found it very difficult to trace the exact outline from this cause. It may be regarded as representing a barbed spear head or arrow point. Were we to confine our attention to one or two oblong mounds, on the edge of a bank, we might be led to regard them as breastworks, or parapets for defense, and perhaps to command the channel of the river; but an inspection of the whole group shows clearly that no such purpose could have been intended."¹

This group of mounds is worthy of special notice, for it contains a series of long ridges near a bluff, and from the location of the ridges, we gather the idea that this also was a game drive. The break in the bluff is in the midst of the group,

¹ See Lapham, *Antiquities*, P. 68, Pl. XLII, No. 1.

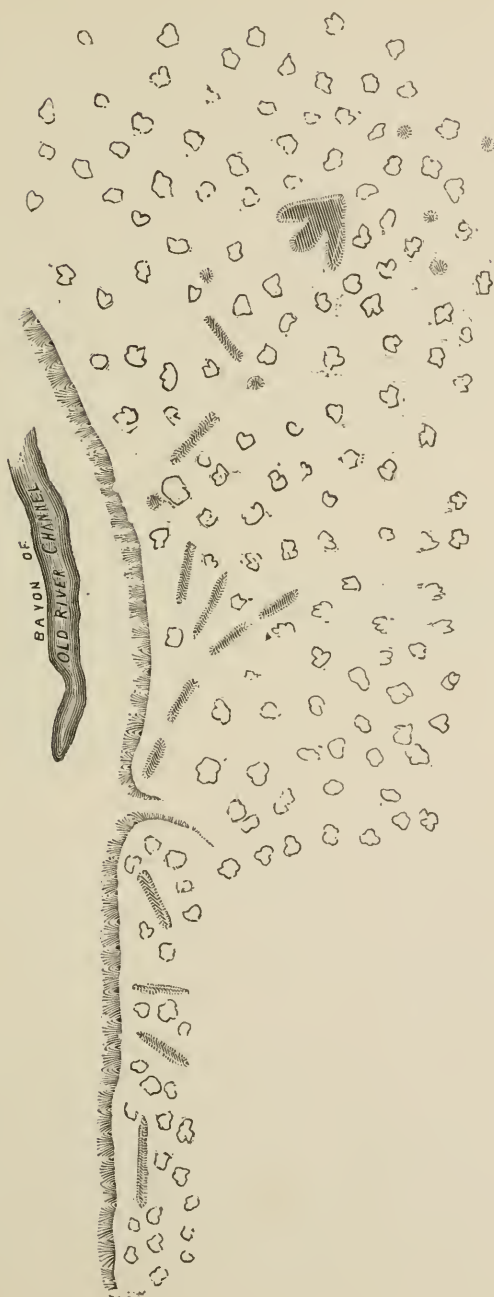


Fig. 120.
Buffalo Drive near the Wisconsin River. Sec. 8, 7, 8, Range 4, East.

and the ridges seem to point to this break, as if there was a path which was familiar to the wild buffalo. We can easily imagine the hunters as hiding behind the ridges and making them screens from which they could shoot into a herd as it made its way along this pathway. Dr. Lapham says that the works were not intended for defense. We conclude from the inspection of the ground that the group of long mounds together with the effigy of the bird or arrow head formed a buffalo drive.

We leave the subject here for the present, but think that our readers will see from what has been said that this is one use to which the mounds were put. Long ridges and parallel mounds like these are very common, but wherever they have been seen they will bear this interpretation. We conclude that hunting was common among the Emblematic Mound Builders, and that this kind of earth work was generally employed for the purpose referred to, namely, as a game drive.



CHAPTER VIII.

ANIMAL EFFIGIES AND NATIVE SYMBOLISM COMPARED.

One of the most interesting problems brought before the American Archæologist, is that which comes from the study of animal effigies and native symbols. 1. The effigies have great interest, if for no other reason than for this, that they reveal what animals once abounded here, the mounds and earthworks frequently preserving the images of these animals as correctly as if they were carved in wood, or preserved in sculptured monuments. 2. They help us to understand something of that remarkable totem system, which found its fullest embodiment among the various tribes of this continent. 3. The most im-

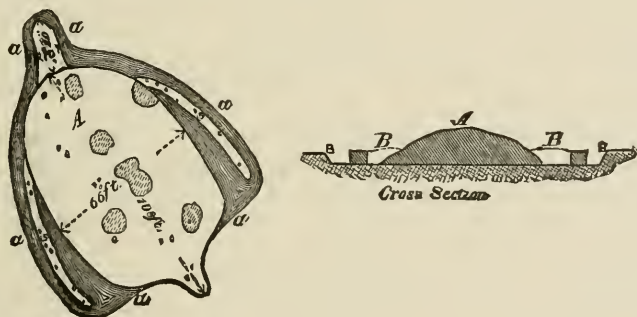


Fig. 121.

Turtle-shaped Mound in Florida.

portant point of all, however, is that in the animal effigies and other symbols, many think they discover traces of the migration of these tribes from other continents. This is a favorite theme with the European Archæologists, but the solution of it in all probability will come from American students.

I. We shall first consider the animal effigies in connection with their geographical distribution.

We present, with this number, a cut of a mound in Florida. The description of the mound may be found in the Smithsonian Report for 1879. It was furnished by S. T. Walker, whose name has occasionally appeared in this volume. The cut has been kindly loaned by Prof. S. F. Baird. The mound is situated on a narrow island called Long Key. Mr. Walker says: "It is not without some hesitation that I attribute to this mound a turtle shape, as such an occurrence among the

mounds in this part of Florida is an anomaly. Whether the shape depicted was the result of deliberate design on the part of the builders or the accidental result of irregular ditching, I cannot say. The mound proper consists of a structure of sand 108 feet long and sixty-six feet wide. It is about five feet high at a point marked A in the figure. This constitutes the body, or carapace, and tail of the supposed turtle. The ditches a a are distinct and leave the flippers B B and the head C at the natural level of the land. The view in section Fig. 121, will convey an idea of what I mean. A being the mound and B B the ditches, leaving the flippers as before stated. In other words, the flippers are not the result of heaping up sand, their shapes being given by the ditches. Whether the design was to give the form of a turtle or not, the result was precisely the same, the whole structure having a wonderful resemblance to that animal. It is not at all improbable that the ancient architects had that form in view in the construction of this mound, as the beaches on this island are still the resort of hundreds of turtles, which come up to lay their eggs in the sand during the summer, and successful turtle fisheries are now carried on in Boca Ciega Bay, immediately opposite this point."

We call attention to this mound because it indicates that animal effigies were more numerous and wide-spread than we have been accustomed to suppose. This point has been shown by the explorations of Mr. W. T. Lewis, in Minnesota, by Hon. C. C. Jones, in Georgia, by Mr. Evans, in Iowa, and various gentlemen in Ohio. Mr. Lewis writes to *Science*, Feb. 13, as follows: "The effigies surveyed by myself are, twenty-five in Minnesota, one in Iowa, ninety-six in Wisconsin. Among the effigies in Minnesota, are a frog, and a bird effigy at La Crescent, also two bird effigies and a quadruped, on the Root River, near Hokah, and a fish effigy near the village of Dakota, on the same river. The fish is 110 feet long." It is represented as having fins and a doubly divided tail. Mr. C. C. Jones, in the *Smithsonian Report for 1877*, describes two bird mounds in Georgia. One of these is near Eatonton, Putnam county, crowning a high ridge overlooking the little Grady creek. "It is composed entirely of boulders of white quartz rock, gathered from the adjacent territory. The boulders were carefully piled together, and the interstices were filled with smaller fragments of milk quartz. Into the composition of the structure enters neither earth nor clay. This stone mound represents an eagle lying upon its back with extended wings. (See Fig. 122.)

In the construction of the tumulus, respect was had to the object imitated, the height of the tumulus, at the breast of the bird being between seven and eight feet, its altitude thence decreasing toward the head and beak, where it is not more

than two and one-half feet high, and also toward the extremity of the wings and tail, where it has an elevation of scarcely two feet. The beak is slightly aquiline, and the tail is indented. Measured from the top of the head to the extremity of the tail this structure is 102 feet long. From tip to tip of the wings, measured across the body, we have a distance of 120 feet. The greatest expanse of tail is 38 feet, the same as the lateral diameter of the body. The proportions of the neck, head, wings and tail are cleverly preserved. About a mile and a half from Lawrence Ferry, on the Oconee river, and situated on a stony ridge near the main road, on the planta-

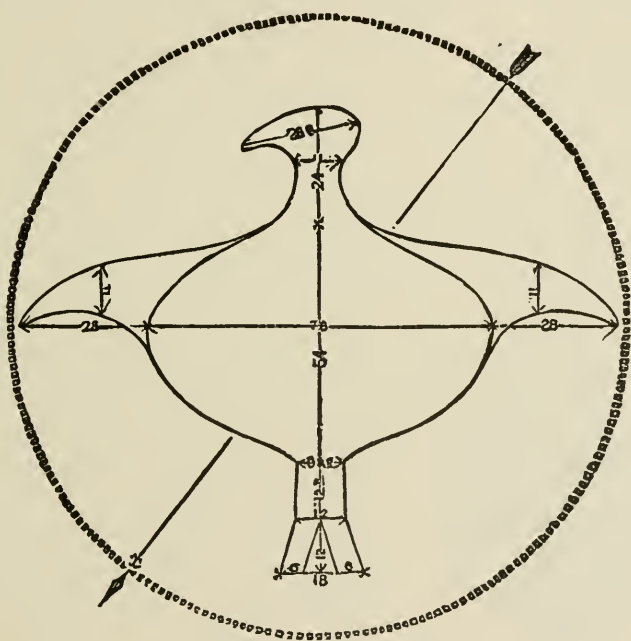


Fig. 122.

Bird-shaped Mound in Georgia.

tion of Mr. Kilichen D. Little, in Putnam county, is another of these bird-shaped mounds. Like the former, it is composed wholly of boulders and white quartz rock, collected from the hill on which it stands. Its dimensions do not materially differ from these of the tumulus on the Scott place. The tail, however, is bifurcated. The head of the bird lies to the south-east, and its wings are extended in the direction of the north-east and southwest. The entire length of the structure from the crown of the head to the end of the tail is 182 feet and three inches. For a distance of twelve feet the tail is bifurcated, and just above the part of bifurcation it is twelve feet

wide. Across the body, and from tip to tip of the wings, the tape gave us a measurement of 132 feet. The body of this bird, which is evidently lying on its back, is stouter than that of the eagle, being seventy-six feet in diameter. Its wings are relatively shorter. The proportions of the head, neck and tail are tolerably well observed.

These discoveries in Florida and Georgia, are important because they bring to light an important fact in reference to the pre-historic monuments of this country. Heretofore we have considered that animal effigies were confined to one or two localities, namely, Ohio and Wisconsin. But it is now seen that they are scattered over the Southern states as well.

The finds of new effigies are somewhat numerous. We have discovered many interesting groups,¹ and others think that they recognize some remarkable shapes in them, such as it has not been supposed that they possessed. A series of earth heaps was recently discovered in Minnesota² which, taken together, had the shape of a massive serpent, the head being in the form of a wide and flattened mound with a diameter of fifty feet. We have spoken of the serpent figure in the walls of the ancient fort on the Miami river,³ and would also refer to the works at Portsmouth, Ohio, as still more remarkable than these.

In connection with this subject, the bird mound⁴ in Ohio should be mentioned. (See Fig. 123). This has been pronounced by Dr. Brinton to be an arrow-head or a feathered arrow, and not a bird track. This we doubt, and yet we are happy to give the new interpretation, as it helps to arouse thought and increase study. The turkey tracks on the inscribed rocks at Barnesville, Ohio, may be arrows, but not the effigy at Newark.

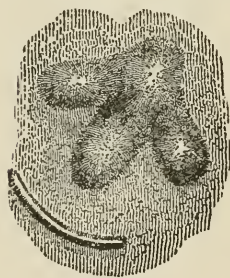


Fig. 123.

The discoveries by Mr. Lewis also show that the effigy builders occasionally crossed the borders and extended into other States. The Root River, on which these discoveries were made, empties into the Mississippi opposite LaCrosse. It is worthy of notice that in this vicinity is the pictured cave—the cave at West Salem. It was at La Crosse, also, that Prof. Putnam surveyed and excavated some emblematic mounds. A few miles north of La Crosse is Trempeleau, where emblematic mounds are found in great numbers. It is

¹ See articles on emblematic mounds in this journal, also reports of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, and of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Vol. IX.

² See *Young Mineralogist and Antiquarian*, March 25.

³ See *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I., No. 1.

⁴ See report of Philadelphia Academy of Science for Oct., '84, also pamphlets on Pedographs, by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

also worthy of notice that on the Root River there is a burial mound concerning which there is a tradition. It appears that here there was fought a battle between the Sioux and Chipewas, and that the persons who were slain were buried in this mound. There was recently discovered a peculiar relic in the same region. It is a terra cotta figure representing a Mexican face, with head dress and ornaments. Thus we have in this vicinity traces of the early and later occupation. The emblematic mound-builders also occasionally extended down into the State of Illinois. We have recently discovered a turtle effigy at Rockford, and others have found similar effigies on the Kishwaukee, a few miles east of that city. These, however, were evidently built by the same people who erected the mounds in Wisconsin. The isolated mounds in Ohio, Georgia and Florida are interesting on account of their very isolation.

The native symbolism of America has not yet been understood, and we do not think that the monuments should disappear without a careful study of them. Still we realize that much care is needed, lest we be carried away by unsafe guides. To illustrate, Wm. Pidgeon has been generally regarded as altogether unreliable, yet he is being quoted as authority by Nadaillac, and Mr. W. T. Lewis thinks that he is finding confirmations of his strange assertions. Mr. Luther Conant also quotes him, and says that he has discovered symbolic structures in Missouri which correspond even to the most fanciful figures found in the tabooed volume. An accurate survey, and a reasonable interpretation of the monuments will, perhaps, correct the vagaries which have come to us from the crude and visionary descriptions contained in the book, and which have been made current by quotation.

II. The question arises whether there was not a totem system among the different tribes which would occasionally lead them to the erection of these effigies. Ordinarily, the tribal signs were exhibited in more perishable material. They were painted upon cloth and wood. They were drawn on the sides of the houses; occasionally inscribed in stone, and are, at the present day, found carved into totem posts. Thus we find them in every part of the continent. They were formerly in New York State, among Iroquois. They are now seen on the northwest coast, among the Alaskans. Possibly the animal figures which are seen carved in stone among the ruins of Nicaragua and Yucatan are designed to represent the same thing, namely, the animal worship which prevailed so extensively. This discovery in Florida is interesting, as it brings up one more locality and shows that these figures, whatever their significance and object may have been, were as widespread as animal worship or the totem system was. We throw out the suggestion, hoping that others will make it a point to seek all such effigies, that we may ascertain the extensiveness

of the territory in which they appeared and learn more about them.

We respectfully suggest that the symbolism found in the mounds be compared with that found in the relics. The animal shapes in pottery, in carved stone, in inscribed rocks, in pictures, should be brought together for comparison, and then the traditions prevalent among the tribes, studied with the same point in view.

III. In reference to the introduction of symbols and animal effigies from other continents, a few facts may be mentioned. On this point there are necessarily differences of opinion, and yet both sides should be considered.

It is well known that the chief seat of these figures is Wisconsin, and that in this State a mound has been discovered which proves, it is claimed, one of *two* things; either that the effigy builders were very ancient, so ancient that they were associated with the mastodon and the elephant, or that they were so recently emigrants from the lands where the elephant abounded, that they retained the memory or the tradition of this animal, and were able to restore its image in the earth-work.

In order to ascertain the facts in reference to this, it is now necessary for us to examine the effigies which are found elsewhere, and to search among them for traces of the same or similar figures.

*The elephant mound is so far obliterated that it can no longer be relied upon as evidence in the case. There are those who have visited the region with the express object of settling this point, but while one imagines that he sees resemblances in the obscure image which has been subject to continued leveling from the plow and from the wear of the elements, others conclude that no such resemblances can be discovered. The survey and plotting of the mounds in Wisconsin are important, because the identifying of the forms of the mounds with the effigies of the animals, will help us to determine what animals were known. So far as investigation has been carried on, no other effigy resembling an elephant has been discovered, but the images are generally imitative of the animals formerly occupying the region.

Still there are effigies in other States which, by some, are supposed to prove an exogenous origin, as it is claimed that these present a symbolism which could not have originated on this soil.

Among the figures which have been thus referred to, is

*The cut of the elephant mound which has been used in a former paper, was through the blunder of the engraver, made out of scale, and cannot be relied upon as correct. The cut used by the Smithsonian is a better representation of the figure as it was surveyed, though it is doubtful whether a proboscis should have been ascribed to the figure.

the great serpent in Adams county, Ohio. This, by some, has been said to have embodied the old Hindoo tradition of the serpent and the egg, a tradition which is connected with the cosmogony of the east. The new measurement and description made by Rev. J. P. McLean, overthrows this theory, though another, like it, has arisen in its place. Miss A. W. Buckland,¹ in a paper read before the British Association at Montreal, claims that this serpent has striking resemblances to the serpent figure at Avebury, England, though her essay does not state very definitely in what respect the two figures resemble one another. There are earthworks in Ohio which resemble certain stone monuments in England, but they are not the great serpent in Adams county. The earthworks of Portsmouth are much more elaborate, and are more deserving of study in this connection, for here we find not only the covered ways which resemble the tortuous walls at Avebury, but we have the circles and horse shoe figures which are found in Stonehenge.

These works extend for several miles along the river, and cross the river twice, that is, the walls approach the banks of the river, showing that there was a connection between the different parts, a ferry, by canoes, having probably existed between the ends of the covered ways. There are traces also of the serpent effigy and of the sun symbol in these works, so that it proves the most striking place where resemblances are found, and furnishes the chief evidence that there was a common symbolism on the two continents.

Generally, however, the effigy mounds are destitute of any such evidence, and the more they are searched the more do they disprove the connection. The analogies which exist are more likely to be found in connection with the relics which are exhumed from the mounds, or in connection with the sculptured and inscribed figures which are at times discovered upon the surface of the rocks. The last point, namely, that of resemblance between the animal and symbolic shapes of the mounds, and the symbolism which may be traced in the relics, has already been studied by certain archæologists in America. A recent letter received from E. Boetticher, of Germany, shows that the same idea has been entertained by European Archæologists.

The geographical distribution of the animal effigies is here worthy of especial notice. New effigies are being discovered from time to time in widely separated localities. But those which have been discovered so far, have only presented images of animals which are native to this country, and so far as we know, or at least can ascertain with any de-

¹ See Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, Feb., '85, article by Miss A. W. Buckland.

gree of certainty, do not represent either animals which belong to foreign lands, or symbols which can be ascribed to a foreign source.

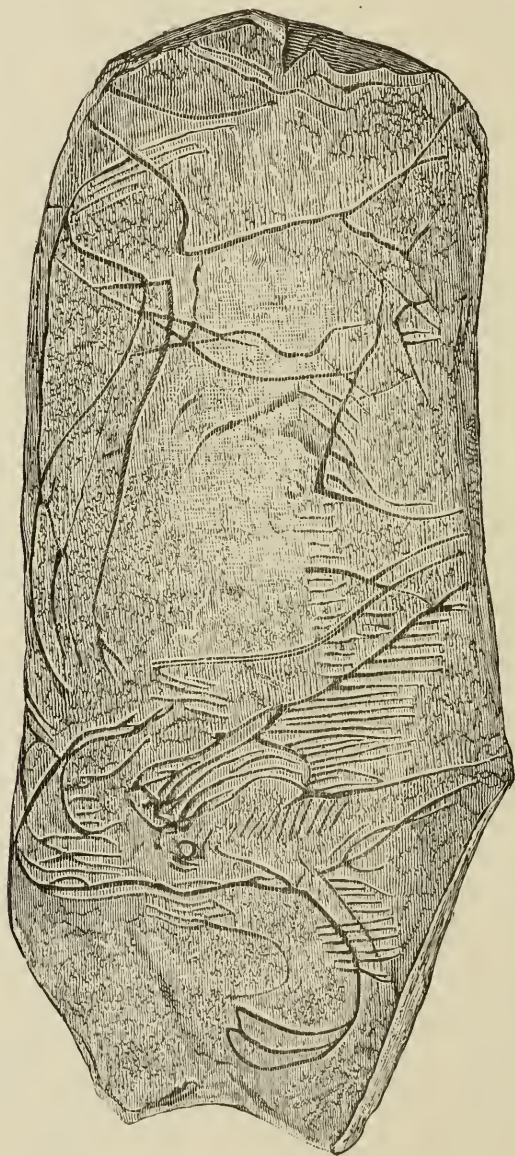


Fig. 124.
Drawing of an Elephant from the cave at Madelaine, France.

IV. We now turn to a comparison of the effigies and the relics. Do these relics contain animal figures which at all resemble those contained in the mounds and earthworks and is there any such evidence of a latent symbolism in these figures as would enable us to understand the object or use of the effigies?

These are the enquiries we have set before ourselves.

It has often been said that the mounds were not mere imitations of animal shapes but that they were symbolic and had a hidden significance. If the study of the relics should reveal the same fact we might conclude that the symbolic purpose was the most important motive which ruled in their erection.

The symbolism found in the relics may thus help us to understand the object or use of the effigies.

We place the animal mounds at the very beginning of all symbolic art, and maintain that the symbolism found in the architecture, art and the pictographs of America were also embodied in these.

The animal figures which were painted upon the sides of the houses of the Iroquois may be considered as primitive specimens of symbols, as are the pictographs which are found among Western Indians. If we compare these rude figures to the carved images which are contained in pipes and specimens of carved stone, or if we compare them to the massive effigies which have been formed out of earth, we should say that they were the most primitive class of symbols. If there was any earlier stage of symbolism than that found here it has disappeared. These were evidently symbolic, for the figures of the animals among the Iroquois are known to be clan or tribal signs and the pictographs are also known to have been symbolic. We believe however, that the effigies were also symbolic, for many of them were used as mechanical contrivances but were fetichistic in their character, symbolic form and mechanical structure, serving the double purpose of convenience and fetichistic protection.

The religious sentiment was doubtless the motive which led to the erection of these remarkable mounds, but this same motive led also to the engraving or carving of similar figures upon pipes, to the moulding of them into pottery, and inscribing them upon tablets. The same motive led to the erection of carved pillars in front of the houses of the inhabitants of the north-west coast, and to the erection of the sculptured stone pillars at the basis of the pyramids of Central America. It is very singular that these animal forms are found so extensively in all parts of the continent and that they form so prominent a feature, in the primitive art of America. We judge from this circumstance that they all had their origin from one common source, namely, the primitive animal worship which prevailed upon the continent but which appeared most forcibly among the emblematic mound builders.

This animal worship may not be recognized in all symbols,

for there are many kinds of symbols. Sun worship and even idolatry or human personification may be recognized in some of them, yet the earliest or most primitive forms are those which present animal figures. We judge that this worship was really the first source of the whole system. This idea we shall endeavor to illustrate, as one of the chief points which arise in connection with the study of the subject. The comparison of the emblematic mounds with the carved relics and inscribed figures would suggest this, but the study of the figures themselves enable us to carry out the point to a much greater extent.

Turning to these animal figures we shall illustrate from them the different stages of symbolic growth. There were many different lines by which these animal figures are represented. 1. Inscribed tablets. 2. The line of pictographs. 3. In the line of sign language. 4. The carved relics. 5. By architectural structures. 6. By hieroglyphics.

[I.] We shall first speak of inscribed tablets and their ornamental relics with the object of ascertaining whether any of the ornamental figures, and especially whether those give any evidence of being symbolic. The tablets to which we shall refer will be mainly those which have ornaments which resemble those found in the effigy mounds. There are indeed many inscribed tablets and shell gorgets which contain figures upon them but generally these are so remote from any representation found in the mounds that they only confuse rather than instruct us by the comparison.

Passing by the various tablets concerning which there have been disputes as to their genuineness we shall refer only to those which are acknowledged to be symbolic in their nature. The Davenport Tablets might be here referred to, for on these there are many ornamental figures but they are mere picture and do not seem to have been intended for symbols.

We call attention to the so-called "Berlin Tablet," (see Figs. 2 and 3) This was evidently symbolic. The shape of the tablet presents the same contour which many of the ceremonial axes do. The same shape is sometimes seen in the earth works themselves. The tablet is inscribed with a certain mystical figure which resembles in its outline a feathered creature,* either duck, loon or goose. The tail is spread out, head thrown back, breast thrown out, legs drawn up in front, wings drooping behind, but all traced by a single unbroken line which follows the contour of the tablet itself. The only separate figures upon the tablet are an oblong oar in the centre, a drawing which resembles a duck or goose in the tail and three dotted circles which resemble the sun.

This tablet we believe is genuine. *It was taken from a mound near Berlin, Jackson county, Ohio. The material is fine grain sand stone. It was found by Dr. J. E. Sylvester below charcoal

*It was described by Dr. Sylvester in the *Antiquarian* for July, 1878.

and ashes and mucky dirt and burnt sand rock, about five feet below the surface of the ground. It was standing on edge unattended by other relics except pieces of graphite and two arrow heads.

The Gest Stone or "Cincinnati Tablet," is another prehistoric relic which shows that symbolism was common among the mound-builders. This is supposed to contain a picture of the human form but the figure is a complicated one and is not easily recognized.*

The Gest Stone† has the same characteristics which the Berlin tablet has. Its contour is expressive of a familiar symbolic shape and is bordered by parallel lines. It contains various marks as if it might have been used either for a tally stone or tablet or as a sort of calendar to keep the record of feasts. It was taken from a mound in Cincinnati in 1841 and is undoubtedly genuine. The tablets found near Wilmington resemble these in some particulars but this has been doubted and so we leave it out of the account. The inscribed figure is folded together and presents many complicated lines and yet contains within the folds a hidden likeness this time to a human face and form, rather than to any animal shape. It resembles certain inscribed shells in that the human figure is represented with limbs and arms so drawn up as to be scarcely recognizable and yet when the human figure is once seen it can scarcely be lost sight of again, thus making the tablets to resemble the puzzle pictures which have become common in modern days.

The Berlin Tablet is very interesting, as it shows that animal figures were sometimes used in a symbolic manner, and that a hidden significance was attached to them. We do not pretend to interpret the tablet or to explain its object. It seems, however, to have been placed in the mound as a sacred memento and possibly may have been used as the shell gorgets were, as a personal charm or fetich. It may have been an object which was regarded as sacred, and which symbolized the clan totem of the person who was buried, or it may have been a symbol of the Dream God or personal divinity of the individual, or it may have been the official badge of some medicine man, or the plate on which the tribal record was perpetuated. We know that such figures were common and that they were frequently painted or carved upon the grave posts of Indians to indicate the clan connection and the personal name of the individual. Sometimes there were two or three animals inscribed upon a grave post and with them, certain arbitrary marks. In these cases one animal figure would represent the tribal name, the other the personal

* See American Antiquarian Vol. 1, No. 2, and North Americans of Antiquity, pp 46, also pamphlet by Rob't Clark.

† A second stone resembling the Gest Tablet has been found.

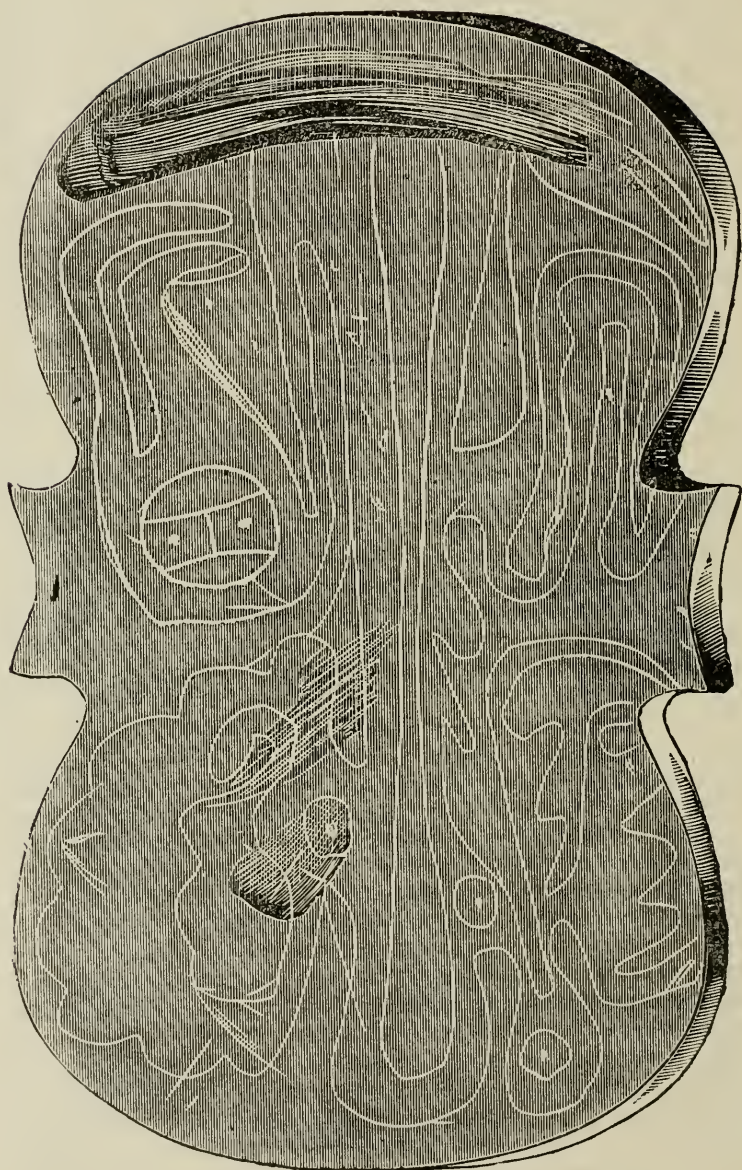


Fig. 126.—THE BERLIN TABLET.

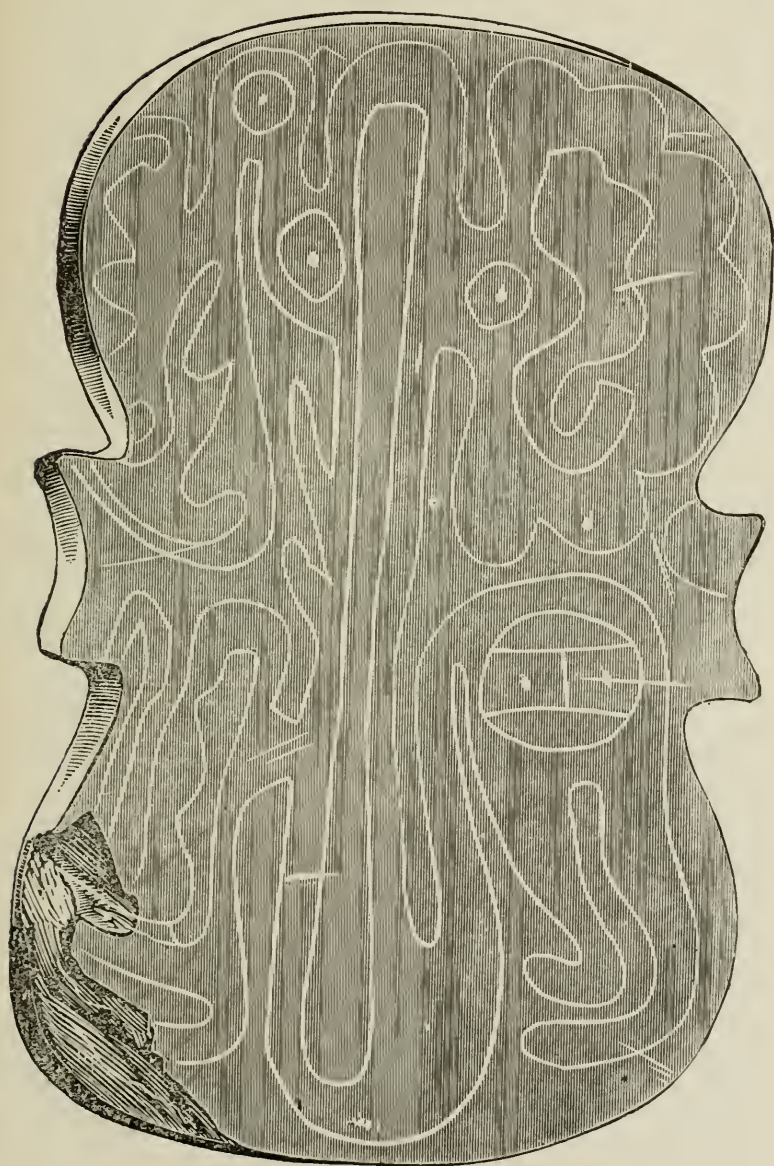


Fig. 127.—THE BERLIN TABLET.

name and the arbitrary marks would represent the history of the individual.

[II.] There are many animals in the pictographs, and we may see that these figures were used in a symbolic manner. There are many specimens of pictographs among the prehistoric races of America. We have referred to these in another treatise*. Some of these pictographs were the work of the modern Indians, and have been explained by them. Others, however, are more ancient and are without explanation. One peculiarity of most pictographs is this, that they contain certain conventional signs, which were used as symbols, to express thought in a secondary manner. The primary method of picture writing, is to make the picture itself express the thought, but the secondary is to make the symbol express it. These two methods are nearly always combined in pictographs, for we seldom find a picture except, certain signs accompany the figure. Schoolcraft has described the pictographs of the Indians. These pictographs are used for a great variety of purposes. One use was to make a record of the treaties which the tribes had made. In these treaty records, the picture of certain animals is given. The animals signify the tribal names or totems, but a line is drawn from the eye or the heart of each one of the animals to the eye of the others, thus signifying that the head and hearts of the tribes were united. This was the primitive method of expressing thought by a symbol, the line itself being the symbol.

There were many other signs which were more arbitrary and more difficult to understand than this, but it shows the method of using symbols. The question here arises whether this kind of picture writing was common among the ancient mound-builders. There are a few tablets and relics which have been exhumed from the mounds which would indicate that some such method of picture writing was common, but as a general thing symbolism among the mound-builders was more advanced than among the modern Indians. The Davenport tablet is a good specimen of picture writing, it resembles a pictograph, but contains no symbols. An interpretation of these tablets has been given by Mr. Horatio N. Rust. His interpretation is, that both were descriptive of a hunting expedition. The picture of the mound represents not a sacrificial scene but an earth lodge, in which a dance was being held.† The "prostrate forms" represented those persons who were overcome by the efforts and excitement of the dance. The "curling smoke" arose from a fire in the lodge, indicating that the dance was held in cold weather. The "moon and stars" indicated that the dance was held in the night. The "upright marks" around the lodge,

*See papers on Picture Writing.

†See proceedings of the Am. Association at Montreal, Aug. 1882, page 584.

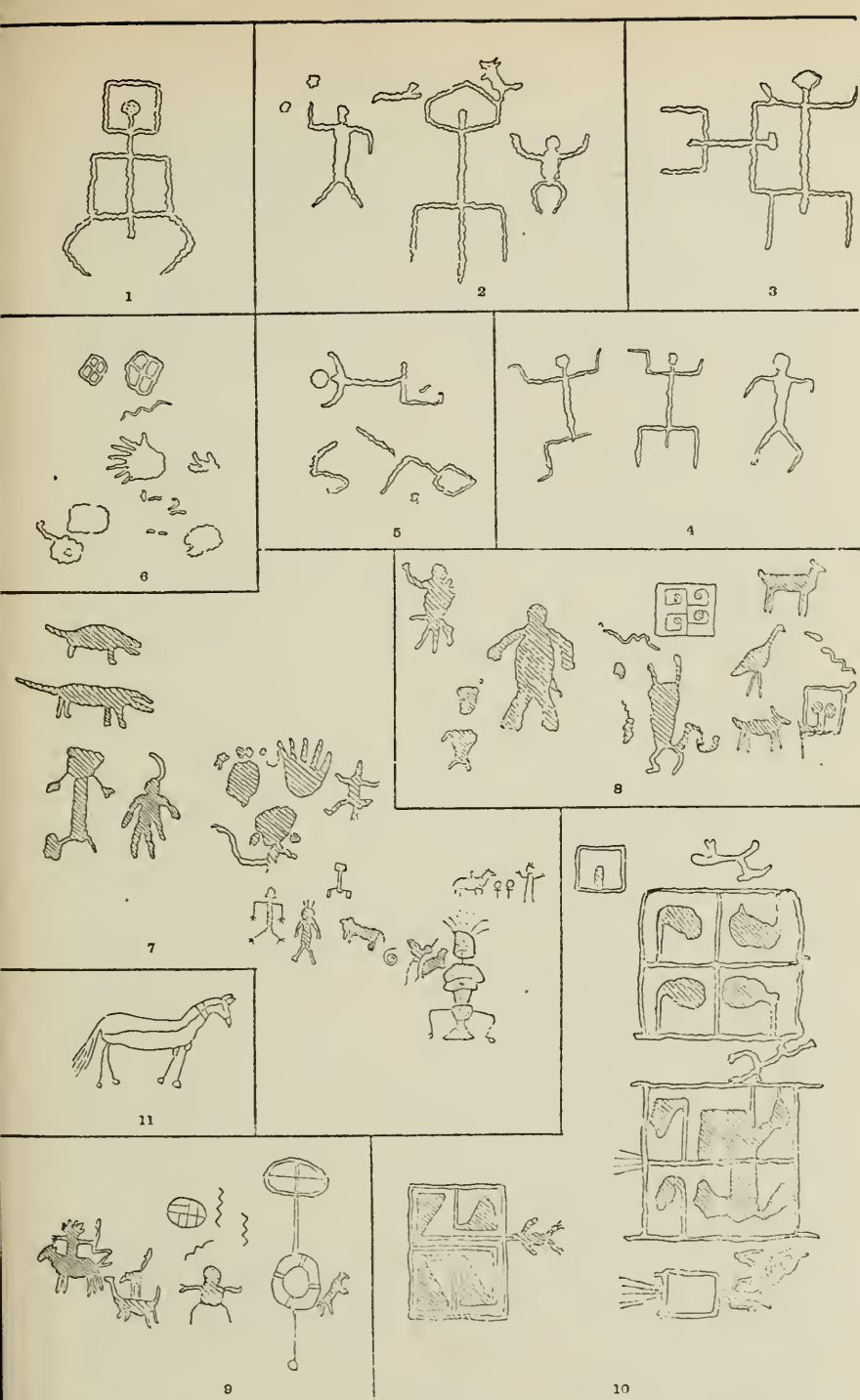


Fig. 128.—ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

represent a fence of sticks set in the ground. The "irregular markings" (phonetic characters) which some persons have tried to interpret as evidence of a written language, were simply ornamental markings, conveying no intelligence. This interpretation was secured by Mr. Rust from certain old men of the Dakota tribe. His opinion is that the tablet is not very ancient, but was the work of the Indians who built mounds in quite recent times. We call attention to the tablets because there are many animal figures upon them. The query is whether they are mere pictographs or whether they have a symbolic significance.

If the tablets are genuine, they belong to a low stage of social cultus, and would more properly be classed with the relics of the modern Indians than the works of the older mound-builders.

A better specimen of symbolism as connected with picture writing is found among the inscribed rocks of Colorado and New Mexico. We give a cut of one group of pictographs. (See Fig. 5). It is taken from the report of Mr. W. H. Holmes and represents the picture writing which was practiced by the cliff dwellers. In this group of pictographs there were several figures which were intended to represent human forms. (1, 2 and 3). These were inscribed on the rocks. Others representing human forms (4, 5 and 6), were painted in red and white clay. Others (7) represent animals, such as the lizard or alligator. Others however, were symbols, (10), and may represent pipes or tribal emblems. They resemble the pattern on pottery of this region. Others (11) are modern, are supposed to have been made by the Navajo Indians. A description has been given by Mr. E. A. Barber* and by Mr. Holmes. Mr. Holmes says that in the figures given in the ancient work there is no animal resembling a horse and we can hardly suppose that artists who would so cleverly delineate birds and deer and men, would fail in an attempt to represent an animal of so marked a character.

These pictographs are valuable to the archæologist as they exhibit the grade of civilization reached by the tribes which inhabit the cliff dwellings. They are found in the Canon of the Mancos, on the bluffs of the San Juan, and are associated with the cliff dwellings. There is no doubt that some of them are ancient and it is noticeable that these contain symbols, while the modern contain only pictographs.

Another specimen of picture writing in which animal figures are conspicuous and in which symbolism is apparent is found in the same report.† See Fig. 129. The interpretation of this Mr. Holmes says: "The most striking group observed is given in Fig. 1, plate XII. It consists of a great procession of men,

*Hayden's report for 1876, plate 11, page 20.

†See also *Am. Antiq.* Vol. V, No. 3, and the papers on Picture writing, reprinted from the same.

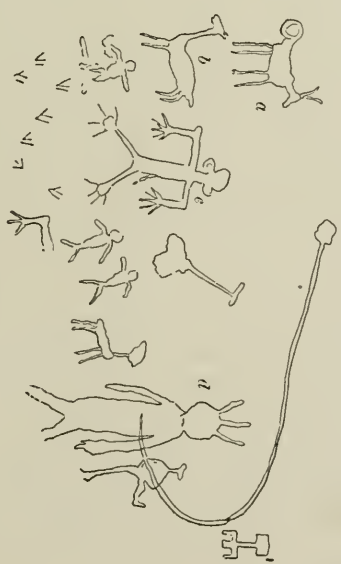


Fig. 129.—ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

birds, beasts and fanciful figures. The whole picture as placed upon the rocks, is highly spirited, and the idea of a general movement to the right skillfully portrayed. A pair of winged (human figures) hover above, as if to watch or direct its movements. Behind these are a number of odd figures followed by an animal resembling a (reindeer) which seems to be drawing a notched sledge, containing two figures of men. The figures in the main body of the procession appear to be tied together in a continuous line. Many of the smaller figures above and below are certainly intended to represent dogs, while a number of men here and there as if to keep the procession in order. The symbols of this picture are found in the pipes and not in the animals, though the line which connects the animal figures may be regarded as symbolic. The object of the picture may be to represent a treaty, or the allegiance which certain tribes were ready to make with the tribe whose symbol is seen in the council house or place where the pipes were stored. In that case the animal figures would represent the totems of the clans or tribes making the treaty.

[III]. The sign language should here be mentioned.* There are many specimens of sign language extant. In these, animal figures are very common. They are, however, generally the pictures of animals in motion, or animal figures attended with the sign of speech.

The "picture caves" at West Salem also contain other specimens of this sign language. Here the animals are represented with the line projecting from the mouth as if it indicated speech† These inscribed figures were evidently the work of modern Indians. The question arises whether there was any such practice among the ancient mound-builders. We do not say that sign language was not known to the mound builders, but in the pictures which have been discovered, so far as we know, the symbol of speech is entirely wanting. Still the symbol is frequently seen on the sculptured tablets of Mexico and Central America, and it is singular it should not have been employed by the mound-builders.

[IV]. Carved Relics. The prevalence of animal figures in the carved relics has often been noticed. These are found especially in the pipes, but they are also exhibited by the specimens of pottery and by other relics found in the mounds. We shall not dwell upon these but shall turn to the carved and moulded animal figures which are common among the Pueblos. These illustrate the point. It may be disputed whether the mound-builders' relics were symbolic or not but these Pueblo relics certainly were. Our authority on this point is Mr. F. W. Cushing. He

*See Mallory's Sign Language Ethnological Bureau Report, also *Am. Antiq.* Vol. VI, No. I.

†See *Am. Antiq.* Vol. VII, No. 2.

has entered into the study of the subject and has learned the significance of many of the carved objects. We give here a cut which was used by Mr. Cushing in his report.* (See Fig. 130.)

"Another highly prized class of fetiches are those which are elaborately carved. They show evidence in their polish and dark patina of great antiquity. They are such as have been found by the Zunis about Pueblo, formerly inhabited by their ancestors, or are tribal possessions which have been handed down from generation to generation until their makers have been forgotten." The use of these fetiches is chiefly connected with the chase, though they are sometimes supposed to possess the guardianship of the six regions, a sort of geographic mastership, but the medicine powers are supposed to emanate from them. The "prey-gods," through their relationship to the chief divinityship, *po-shai-an-k'ia*, "as Makers of the Paths of Life," are given high rank among the Gods. There are six species of prey animals, and each species is again divided into six varieties, the color determining the location or region to which it belongs. The animals represented are as follows: The "Mountain Lion," which is the hunter god of the North; the Coyote, the hunter god of the West; the Wild Cat, the hunter god of the South; the Wolf, the hunter god of the East; the Eagle, the hunter god of the Upper Regions, and the mole, the hunter god of the Lower Regions. The fetiches of the wild cat are represented on the plate. They are characterized by short horizontal tails. Figure 1 represents the fetich of "the yellow wild cat" of the North. It is of yellow lime-stone, stained with blood. It contains an arrow point of chalcedony bound with blood stained cordage and a necklace of white shell beads. Figure 2 represents "the blue wild cat" of the West. It is formed of Basaltic clay of a grayish blue color and is furnished with an arrow point of jasper. Figure 4 represents "the red wild cat" of the South. It was formed from gypsum, but changed red by the application of paint. It is supplied with the usual necklace and arrow point. Figure 6 represents "the white wild cat" of the East. These are of compact white lime-stone carefully polished. Figure 7 represents "the many colored wild cat" of the Upper Region. It is made of Basaltic clay, stained black with pitch and pigment and furnished with a flake of flint and a small fragment of stone attached to the back, with a binding of sinew. Figure 8 represents "the black wild cat" of the Lower Region. It is little more than a concretion of compact Basaltic rock. Its natural form is suggestive of the animal. Long use has polished it to the hue of shining jet. These different fetiches of the wild cat show that the symbolic character of the relics became very elaborate. The color and the shape of the relic, as well as the ornament attached, all have a special significance and indicate the region over which

*See second annual report of the Ethnological Bureau.

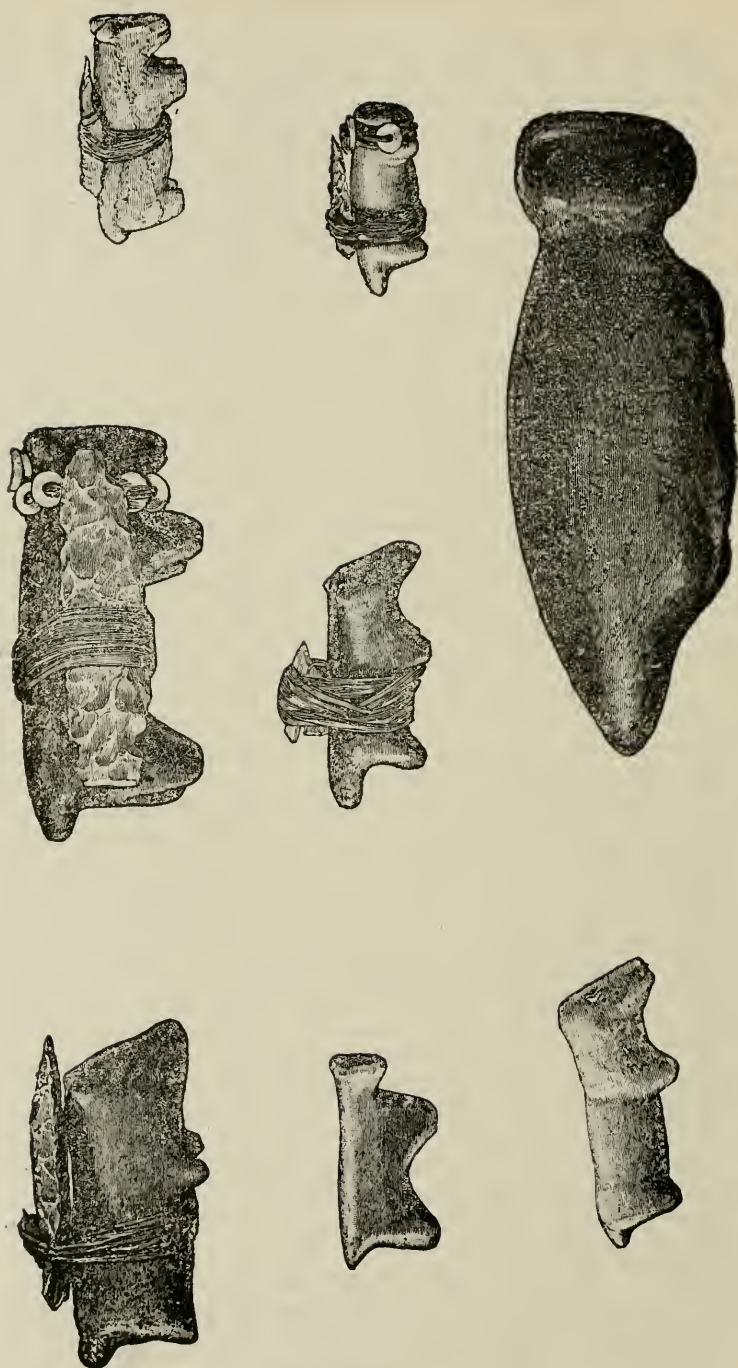


Fig. 130. —PREY GCDs OF THE ZUNIS.

the divinity presides. Other specimens of carved animals might be referred to, but these will suffice to show the symbolic character of the animal figures.

The totem posts found on the North-west coast illustrate the use of animal figures in the family genealogies. These may be regarded as a kind of primitive coat of arms and are very interesting on account of the diversified figures contained in them. See Fig. 131.

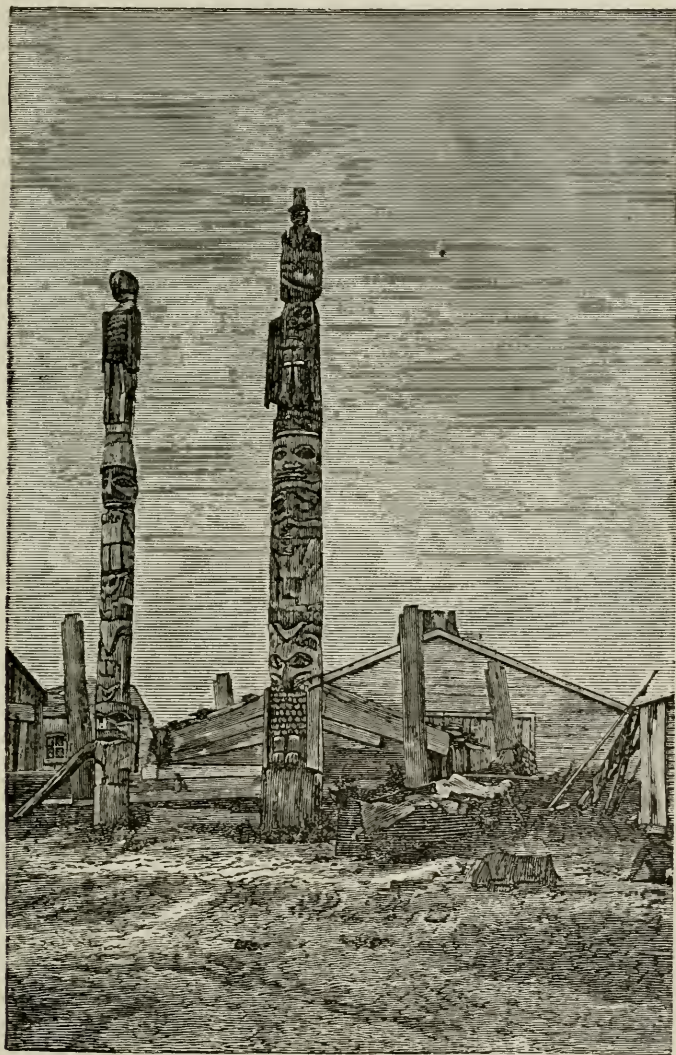


Fig. 131.—TOTEM POSTS ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST.

[V.] Architectural ornamentation and sculptured stone facades frequently illustrate the symbolic character of animal figures.

We give one specimen. It is taken from the drawings of the ruins at Xochicalco in Mexico. See Fig. 132.

We quote the words of Mr. E. A. Allen, the author of "The Prehistoric World." He says the ornaments are not stucco work, but are sculptured in bass-relief. As one figure sometimes covers parts of two stones, it is plain they must have been sculptured after being put in position. The height of this front is nearly fifteen feet. In the left hand corner of this sculpture will be perceived the head of a monstrous beast with open jaws

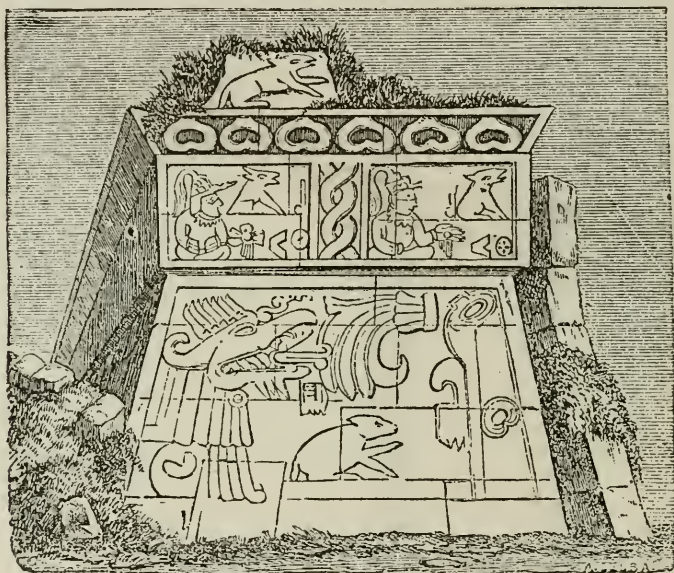


Fig. 132.—RUINS AT XOCHICALCO.*

and a protruding tongue. This figure is constantly repeated in various parts of the facade. Some have supposed it to be a crocodile. The rabbit is another figure which constantly appears in portions of the wall. "Some idea may be formed of the immense labor with which this building was constructed from measurements made of several of the masses of porphyry that compose it. One stone was nearly eight feet long by three broad. The one with the rabbit is five feet by two and a half. This specimen is interesting, as it illustrates the prevalence of animal figures in the symbolism of the civilized races.

The hieroglyphics and the accompanying pictures, which are found in the Codices will form the last class of objects of which we shall at present speak. These illustrate the stage of symbolism which was common among the prehistoric people of Central America. We present a cut which will illustrate this. See Fig. 133.

This is taken from plate 10 of the Dresden Codex Troano.

*We are indebted for the use of this cut to Mr. E. A. Allen.

If the reader will study the hieroglyphs in the cut he will see that they were similar to phonetic letters.

The animal figures are worthy of especial notice. They are very rude in their appearance and in their form resemble the common picture writing. The symbolic or phonetic characters seem to be explanatory of them, still the animal figures are supposed to be symbolic, though no one knows what the

meaning of them is. A free translation of the column of hieroglyphics, according to Prof. Cyrus Thomas, is as follows: "Facing the south, place the tortilla of Maize on the pan of burnt clay and turn itsix times."*

This is not very clear and does not throw much light on the meaning of the animal figures.

The animal hanging to the branch of a tree Prof. Thomas calls a deer. The other to the left may represent the hare. These animal figures evidently meant something, and it is probable that the hieroglyphics and the pictures explain one another, but the symbolism is so hidden that we can not at present interpret either of them. We



Fig. 133.—ANIMAL FIGURES IN THE CODEX TROANO. refer to it here merely to show how common animal figures were. The ideographs of the Toltecs and the Maya races abound with these animal figures.

We have now passed over the different parts of the continent and have shown that these figures are very common in the prehistoric art. A comparison between the different specimens

*A study of the manuscript Troano pp. 162. Contributions to Am. Ethnology, Vol. 5.

will show how universal animal symbols were, but it will also illustrate the fact that the symbolism became more elaborate, mysterious and complicated. The historic connection between the animal worship of the effigy mound builders and the sun worship of the monument builders has not been shown. What is more, it would be difficult to show it, but we think our readers will conclude that symbolism has exhibited various stages of development in the different parts of the continent and yet retained animal figures throughout all grades.

In passing over the symbolism of the uncivilized races, we have seen that there were three grades of it, corresponding to the three grades of cultus. We have found its embodiment in many and various tokens, such as the inscribed tablets, specimens of carved stone, specimens of picture writing and symbolic effigies. In all of these, animal figures were common. We now find that the symbolism of the civilized races was much more complicated and much more difficult to understand. A great change appears, giving rise to the idea that possibly there was an intruded cultus which had an effect to greatly modify the system among these races. Everything is so far advanced that the primitive symbols have disappeared.

The figures have now come to contain a secondary meaning which is very remote from that which is suggested by a picture. Symbolism has reached a stage which can be compared only to the ideographs of the Egyptians. The symbols represent ideas but they are neither pictures nor are they phonetic characters, but are arbitrary signs which have come to have a meaning known only to the priests or to certain classes of the people. The meaning was not suggested by anything in the signs themselves. The ideographic art has taken a leap, which precludes our following the scent. We must come to it from a different side, and we may not be able to connect the two lines of growth, even if we discover the place where the new form of symbolism entered upon its course. In reference to these ideographs of the civilized races, we would say that there are two or three classes of them, those of Mexico being of one grade, and those of Yucatan and Central America of another grade, and those of Peru and the United States of Columbia of still another. There is, however, a similarity between these different grades, and the system in one can be understood by that found in the other.

VILLAGE LIFE AND CLAN RESIDENCES AMONG THE EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

CHAPTER IX.

The subject of villages and clan residences is one which we believe will interest our readers. We propose to treat it in connection with the Emblematic Mounds. It is a theme on which the author has written already,* but much more material has accumulated and the points which were then put forth as tentative may be regarded as now established.

1. The existence of village life among the Emblematic Mound Builders will probably not be disputed, yet we shall go over a few of the arguments to show that it did exist.

1. Village life prevailed among the Indians of all classes, both those who were in the hunting state and those who had reached a high state of agriculture. The Indians of the south, discovered by Ferdinand De Soto,† were all of them living in villages. Those in Illinois and Wisconsin, according to the descriptions of Marquette, La Salle, and others, were also village residents.‡ The Indians of New York and other states, described by Champlain, and those in Indiana and Ohio invaded by Gen'l Anthony Wayne were dwelling in villages. The explorers, Pike, and Long, and Carver the traveller, describe the Indians of Kansas, Minnesota, and Dakota, as situated in villages.

There may be a question as to whether villages constituted clan residences. There were villages in which many tribes seem to have been congregated. One such town is described by the Jesuit Allouez, as situated on the banks of Green Bay. There were here the representatives of six tribes all dwelling near together.¶ A village of that mysterious tribe, called the Mascoutens, was visited by the same missionary, and the representatives of several different tribes were also found dwelling near. This was a time however when the Algonquin tribes were very much disturbed and were seeking refuge from the cruel Iroquois. Catlin speaks of the Mandans on the Missouri River as dwelling

*See *Transact. Wis. Acad.* c.; 1881-'83. Vol. VI.; p. 154. *Ancient Villages among the Emblematic Mounds.*

†See *Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto in Hist. Coll. of La., Part II*, Translated by Richard Hackluyt, 1609; pp. 134-137, etc.

‡See *An Account of Some New Discoveries in North America in 1673*, by Pere Marquette Sieur Joliet, translated from the French. *Hist. Coll. of La.; Part II.*; p. 279.

¶See *History of Catholic Missions*, by J. G. Shea; p. 362.

in villages by themselves, and has given a map on which are traced the wanderings of the Mandans.

2. The traditions and customs of later tribes furnish another proof. It is well known that the Indians of various tribes have favorite places to which they resort for generation after generation. Some of them have their winter abodes in permanent villages and then spend their summers in temporary encampments.*

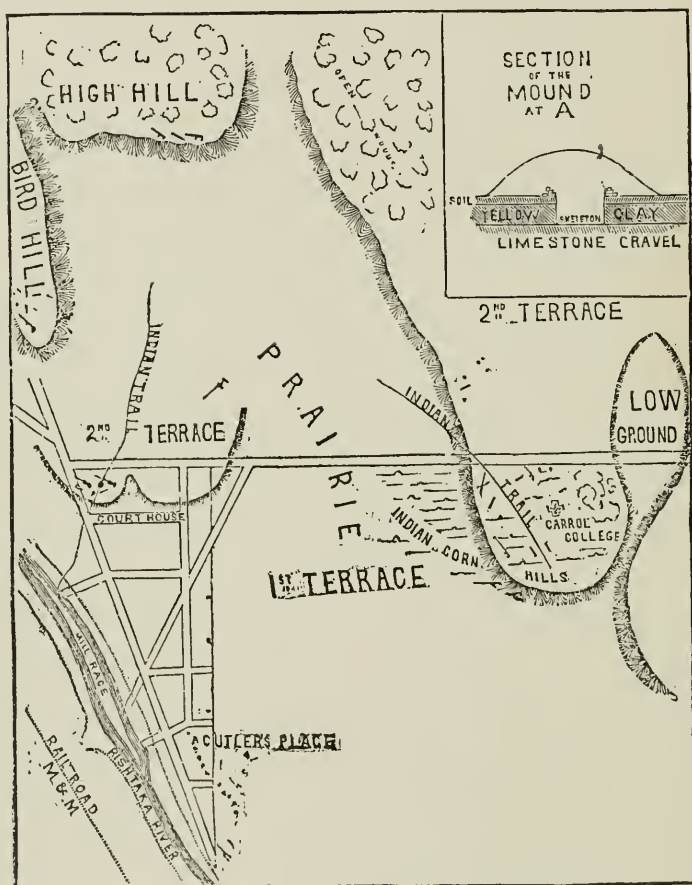


Fig. 134.—MAP OF EARTHWORKS AT WAUKESHA.

3. The succession of races betokened by earth-works and relics would show that village life existed through all the periods. The tokens which belong to Emblematic Mound Builders are not the same as those left by later tribes, yet they are often found in the vicinity of villages known to have been occupied even late

*See Parkman's Oregon Trail, Chap. XIV. Also Greggs Commerce of the Prairies, Vol. II, p. 37.

in history, showing that the same localities were chosen for residence by the earliest and the latest people.

4. The similarity of the Emblematic Mound Builders to the Indians, in their mode of life and culture, render it probable that they were villagers. We have elsewhere divided prehistoric society into different grades according to occupation as follows: fishermen, hunters, agriculturalists, villagers or pueblos, semi-civilized and civilized. These different grades of society are found in different geographical districts. The emblematic mounds are found in the district which naturally belongs to hunters.

We have no doubt that the Emblematic Mound Builders were hunters, but they were also agriculturalists. The fact that the effigy mounds are situated on the banks of lakes and rivers near rice swamps and in the vicinity of forests, would indicate that they drew their subsistence from the same sources that the later Indians did. The garden beds which are found in so many places, favor the idea that they were agriculturalists and that agriculture was with them carried to a higher state than it was with the Indians. Permanency of occupation is, however, manifest in all their works, and we must believe that if the Indians even in their most unsettled state, made their abode in villages; the Emblematic Mound Builders certainly did.

5. The identification of village sites by the mounds and earth-works is another evidence. This is a somewhat difficult thing to do, yet it has been done in certain cases and may be in others. We do not say that many villages of the Emblematic Mound Builders have been identified, and yet the villages of the Indians who built mounds, have been found in such numbers that we are able to determine the characteristics of village life in general, and so are aided in our task. There are places where villages are known to have existed, and in many of these places tokens are found which would indicate that near the same spots the effigy builders also had their residence. Several such localities have been visited by the writer. One at Lake Koshkonong; another at Sauk City on the Wisconsin River; another at Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi River; another at Marquette on the Fox River; another at Red Banks on the south shore of Green Bay. Dr. I. A. Lapham has described several places where Indian villages have succeeded Mound Builder's villages, the tokens of the different races being left on the same ground. One such place was found at Indian hill, near Milwaukee now occupied by the cemetery called Forest Home; another at Indian Prairie, near Humboldt, six miles north of Milwaukee;* another at Waukesha on a spot now occupied by the college grounds. Fig. 134.

It is worthy of notice that the Mound Builder's villages, the Indian villages, and the villages and cities occupied by the white population, are all in the same localities. What is more, the

*See Lapham's *Antiq. Wis.*, pp. 12 and 13. Pl. IV.

very spots which are chosen as the most beautiful places for homes are those which were also selected by this unknown people. The love of the beautiful prevailed with them as with us, and the same appreciation of natural advantages existed among them as with modern races.

6. The number of the effigies which surround these village sites shows that the Emblematic Mound Builders were residents for a longer time and were perhaps more numerous. It is noticeable that the effigy mounds are near lakes and rivers, and that between the groups of effigies there are burial mounds which probably belong to the later tribes. The effigies are, however, more elaborate, show more pains-taking, and convey the idea that the builders of them were more permanent and of a higher grade of culture. The relics of the Indians are, in certain localities, more numerous than those of the Mound Builders, but the earth-works of the earlier race are much more numerous than those of the latter.

The Indians built mounds but are not known to have built effigies. Their burial mounds are interspersed among the effigies. The groups sometimes are combined together, but more frequently separated or at short distances. The effigies are generally upon higher ground while the burial mounds of the Indians are on low ground or at a height mid-way between the village sites and the effigies.

7. Another reason for supposing that the effigy builders dwelt in villages, is that there are so many uses to which their works were subjected. We have already described the game drives, the garden beds, the signal stations, sacrificial places, and have referred to council houses and dance grounds. Tradition has often times fixed upon the same places as the spots where the Indians had their feasts, their dances and their councils, and we sometimes find the rings which mark the site of their council houses in the midst of the effigies. The corn hills obliterated here in places the rings and cover the effigies. We conclude from this mixture and combination of tokens and especially from the variety of uses, that the same kind of life prevailed. Villages were occupied and were built near the same spots,

8. The proximity of the effigies to the villages of certain tribes has given rise to the question whether they were not built by them. In examining the villages of different tribes, we have found that only one can be taken at all to be effigy builders, namely, the Winnebagoes. We are not certain that they built the effigies, but there are places where it would seem as if they might have been the people. We know that the Sacs and Foxes, the Pottowatomies, were only temporary sojourners, The Menomonees were more permanent, but the Winnebagoes seem to have been the original occupants. The matter would lie between them and the Mascoutens; that is, if we were to take any known tribe. The

Mascoutens disappeared early, and only one or two villages have been identified as belonging to them. The Winnebagoes were earlier residents, and at the same time remained later. They belong to the Dakota stock, and this may account for the difference between them and the later Indians. An examination of the different localities where Indian villages have been located always proves interesting, especially if we can reach those places where the Winnebagoes dwelt.

II. We propose to describe some of the villages of the Emblematic Mound Builders.

[I.] The first will be the village at Waukesha. This has been described by Dr. I. A. Lapham. We give a map (Fig. 134) which has been reduced from one in Dr. Lapham's book.* This map will show the location of the effigy mounds on the heights of ground surrounding the present city. It will be noticed that there are effigies on the college grounds. This was the site of



Fig. 135.—CORN HILLS AND INDIAN TRAIL.

an Indian village at the time of the first settlement of the place. The Indian trail was discernible in 1836, at the time that the effigies were surveyed. The trail has disappeared but the corn hills may still be seen, not on the college grounds, but on the low grounds surrounding the college campus. The effigies near the court house have been destroyed, but the round mounds on

*See *Antiquities of Wis.*, Pl. XVIII, and XIX.; p. 26.

Figs. 134, 135 and 136 all represent the same spot; the first represents the village with its surroundings; the second the village with Indian corn hills; the third with effigies.

Cutler's place and a few of the effigies on Bird Hill are still left. The place is interesting because it shows that the same locality was occupied by the effigy builders and by the later Indians. The encampments of the Indians when the effigies were surveyed, were on the very spot where we may suppose the more ancient village was located. The corn hills are evidently later than the effigies, but they are preserved and so we have the tokens of the two races, side by side.

1. The situation of the Mound Builder's village is here worthy of notice. It was on a rise of ground which was surrounded by

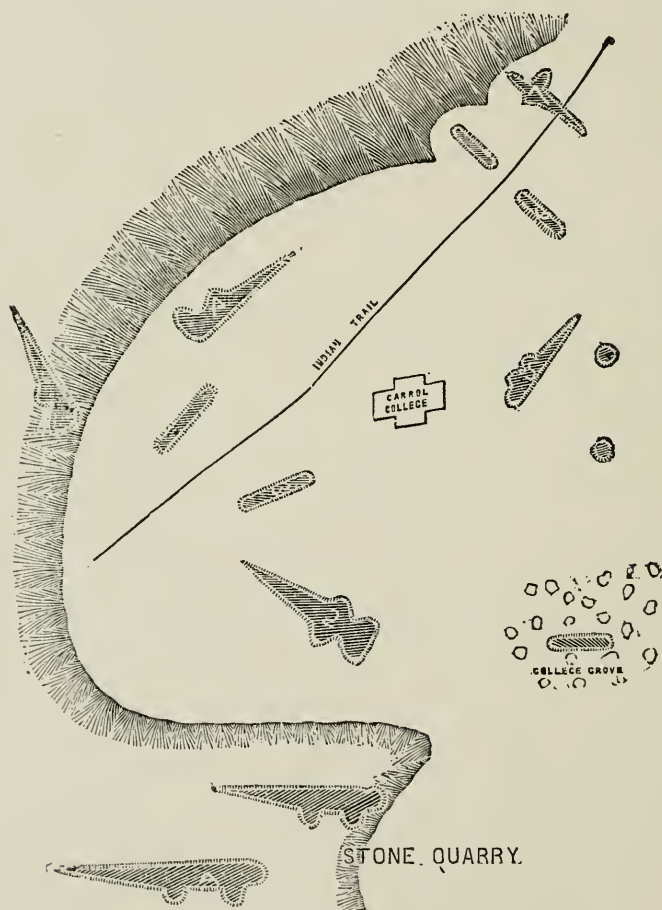


Fig. 136.—EFFIGIES IN COLLEGE CAMPUS AT WAUKESHA.

swails or marshes, and which overlooks the prairie on which the city is now built. The effigies are arranged around the edge of the hill, two of them only being on low ground. See Fig. 135.

2. The arrangement of the effigies is significant. They enclose

an open space which is perfectly level; two of them are arranged parallel to one another, and the trail passes between them. It is possible that a stockade formerly stood outside of these effigies and that the parallel mounds marked the gate or entrance to the village. It will be noticed that the break in the hill is guarded by three effigies, and that this is near the so called entrance. It is possible that the path or trail which led from the river to the village went up at this spot. See Fig. 136. The village is guarded on one side by turtle and wolf effigies which seem to crowd the hill near the entrance as if to guard the village from approach.

3. The totem of the village. We find three prevailing types, the turtle (2), the wolf (4), the panther (5), and the bird (7). The map discloses the fact that a turtle was near the court house, the eagle on Bird Hill, and a panther on the high hill north or east of Bird Hill. The clan emblem cannot be determined by these. Dr. Lapham has described a group of four panthers, or as he calls them, lizards, on a high bluff, one and a half miles north-west of the village, at the crossing of the old Madison road. The panther seems to be the prevailing effigy.

4. The Relics. Dr. Lapham dug into one of the mounds marked A. on the map, and found two feet below the original surface of the ground, a human skeleton lying on its back surrounded by stones. The stones had been placed over the body and at the sides, forming a rude sort of coffin; in the left hand was a pipe of baked clay and a quantity of red paint; in the right hand was a smaller pipe cut from a soft stone. At the head were found fragments of pottery; portions of two vessels. He says the pipes, the red paint, and the pottery, are so many circumstances connecting this mound with the recent race. It must be remembered, however, that the mound was not an effigy but a common round mound, and may have been built by the people who made the corn hills, a race succeeding effigy mound builders.

[II.] The second location where a Mound Builders village has been discovered, is at Great Bend. We present a map of the region taken also, from Dr. Lapham's book. See Fig. 137.

It will be noticed that there is here a group of mounds composed of caches, effigies and long mounds. These are near the so called village. They are on Secs. 24 and 25, T 5, R. 19. land belonging to Mr. A. Putnam. Upon the opposite side of the river, on the summit of a high ridge, is what may be called a look out. On the same side of the river, a mile and a half north and west, is a group of effigies, the object of which is unknown. Still further west at a place called Crawfordsville, Sec. 28, is a large group of effigies which we have called a game drive. It will be noticed on the map that the river takes a big bend but that half a mile distant is an extensive prairie while in the immediate vicinity of the river are swamps full of wild rice; that the location of

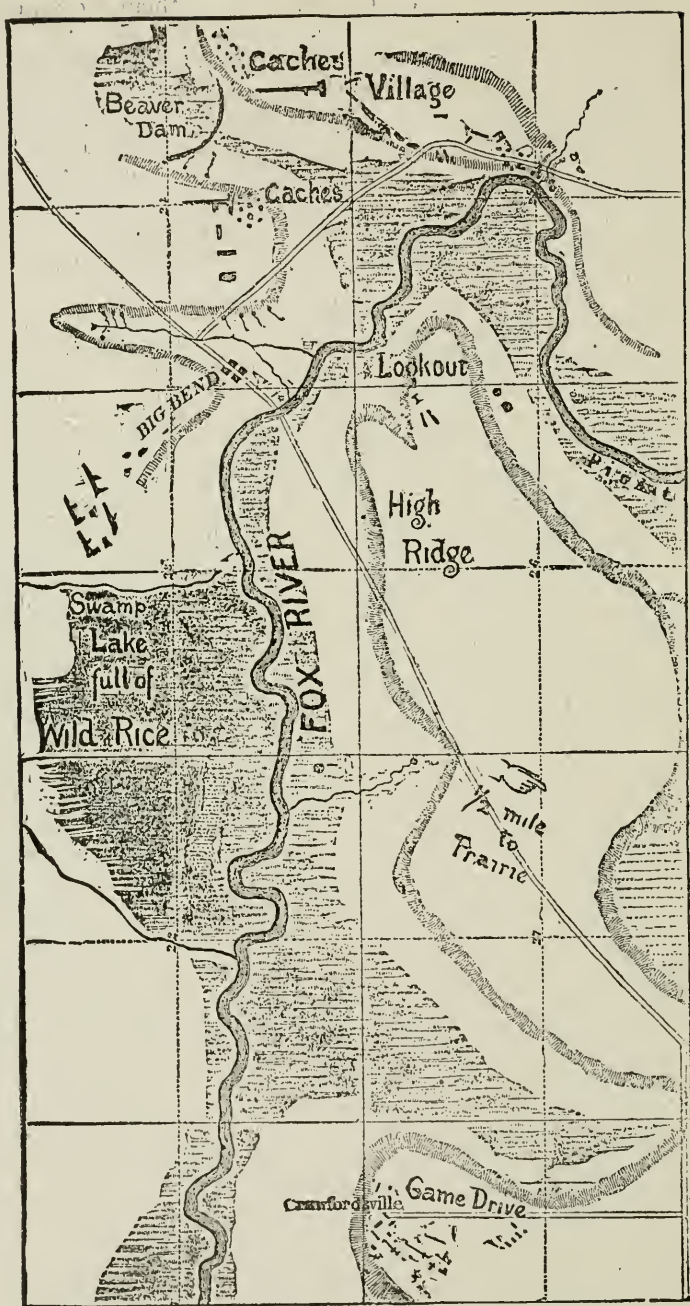


Fig. 137.—MAP OF EARTHWORKS NEAR GREAT BEND.

the village is at the bend of the river near a beaver dam, and that there are small streams at either end of the hill on which the village is situated. The village is guarded by the lookout, it is also defended by its situation, and yet it is near the place where subsistence could be gained. The river would furnish fish, the swamps wild rice, the forests abounded with nuts and wild fruits; and the prairie would furnish game of the larger kind such as buffalo, elk, and deer. The game drives are situated at either end of the swamp as if the object was to drive the deer into the water, and to shoot into them as they ran from the forests, or the prairie, into the water. We see then from the map, the habits of the people who built the effigies; and that they were not very different from those of the later Indians. The writer visited this locality at one one time and discovered that it was a village. It was the first place where village life with all its parts was brought to our notice. The following are the features which proved it was a village site:

1. The first object which attracted our attention were the caches. These were situated on the edge of the beaver dam, in the midst of the forest. They were guarded by an immense panther effigy.* See map, Fig. 137.

These caches were simple pits placed near together. There were so many of them that they made the ground unsafe for walking over, for several rods. The caches were on two sides of the stream, the beaver dam between them.

2. The second object was an immense panther effigy. This was situated on the edge of the hill, the tail extending down to the bank of the stream but the head directed toward the entrance to the village. The effigy is a peculiar one; the head is large, the legs clumsy, but the body extremely attenuated; the animal fronted the opening to the village and seemed to be looking directly into the gate way.

3. The gate way, or entrance to the village enclosure, attracted attention. It was composed of mounds about 80 feet long, 12 feet wide, arranged at such an angle to one another as to guard the opening. [Fig. 138, left end.] The same kind of mounds formed a quasi wall around the village; they were placed at the edge of the hill, at intervals along the whole length of the village plat; turned as the hill turned and thus formed a partial defense to the enclosure. The line does not go entirely around the enclosure but a wide space is left at the rear without any walls or defense of any kind. An effigy of a panther was placed at the opening between two of the long mounds near the north entrance. An effigy of a bird was seen at the opening between the mounds at the other end, and a whole flock of birds were built in effigy on the slope of the hill at this end of the village. A second en-

*See Amer. Antiq. Vol. VI, No. p. 340, fig. 79, also Chap. V of Book on Emblematic Mounds.

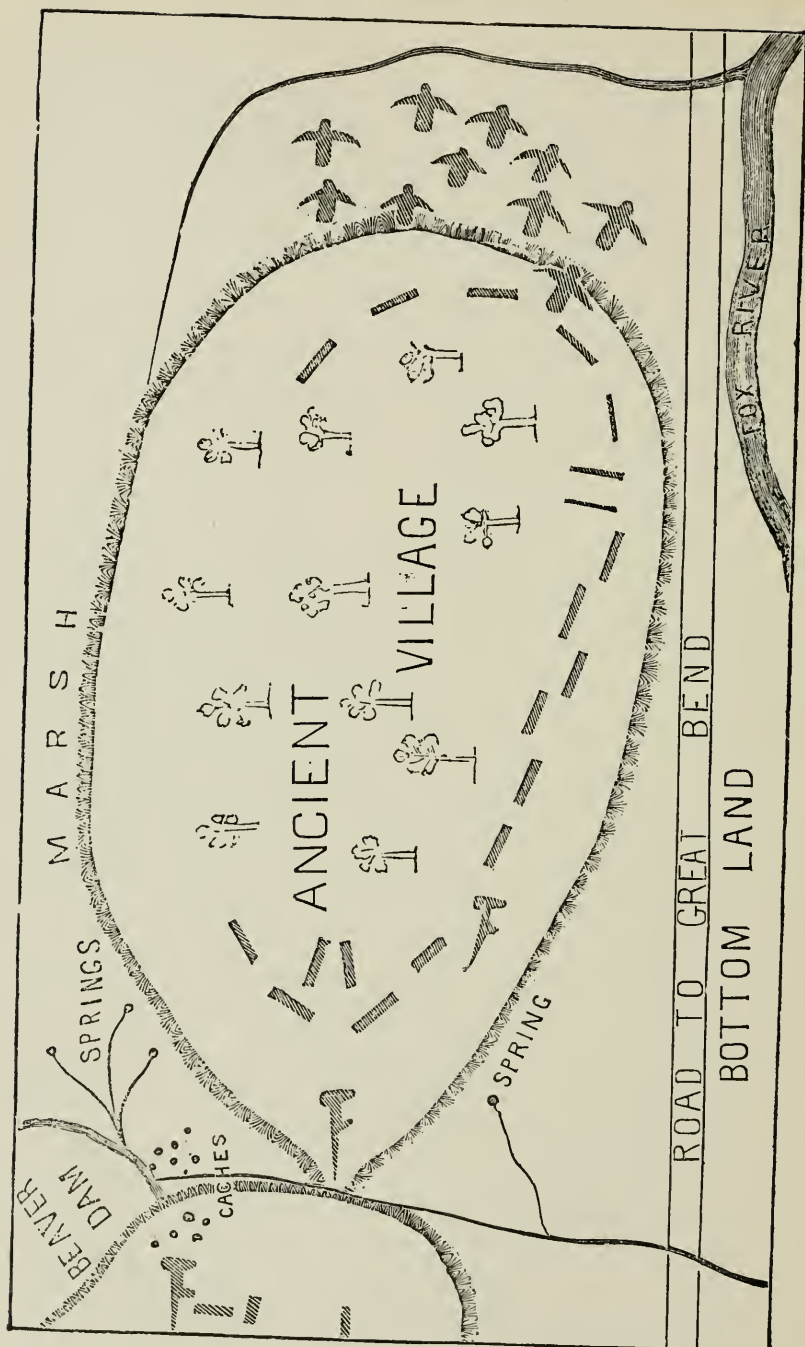


Fig. 138.—MOUND BUILDERS' VIL AGE.

trance was found at the side of the village enclosure near the river. These two entrances are noticeable in that one opens toward the caches and the springs at one end of the village, and the other opens toward the river and the bottom land near the other end. It is probable that a stockade once stood on the outside of the line of long mounds and that these constituted platforms for warriors who might defend the village through loops in the stockades; and at the same time were places of resort for the villagers in the time of peace. They are hardly wide enough for houses to have been erected upon them, though a gentleman accompanying us, drove his buggy upon the top of one of them and allowed the horse and buggy to stand, while we continued the survey of the mounds.

4. The situation of the village impressed us. It was on a rise of ground which was surrounded by low land on all sides; the river on the west, a marsh on the east, spring brooks on the north, and a small creek on the south. The ground sloped in all directions and was dry and well drained. It was covered with a sturdy growth of oak trees and is a very attractive place.

5. Burial mounds and outlooks. Burial Mounds are situated on low ground not far from the village enclosure. A group of mounds, one of them an effigy, was found on the hill top on the side of the river opposite from the village, about a mile distant; and below the hill were two large burial mounds.

This we have called the lookout, the effigy we have called the altar mound. It is of a peculiar shape composed of four conical mounds which make projections resembling legs. Two conical mounds with a ridge connecting them, make the body. The effigy probably represents a frog, at least it bears more resemblance to that than any other animal.*

One peculiarity of the effigy is that it is an imitation of the shape of the bluff on which it stands; two spurs of the bluff and the projections in the effigy correspond. This double effigy, one natural and the other artificial, shows the superstition of the people who built the mounds. They recognized the resemblance to the animal in the hill and then placed the effigy of the animal, on top of the hill. The altar mound was so situated that it could be seen from a great distance. If there were fires lighted on it, they would gleam, not only upon the waters of the river below, but their light could be seen for many miles away. This may have been the place of sacrifice for the village, or it may have been only a lookout mound; but it was evidently connected with the village and served either for a defense, or a place of religious worship.

6. The game drives deserve special mention. One of these is situated near the bank of the river about a mile from the village. [Sec. 23.] The other is situated on the western edge of the rice

*See Book on Emblematic Mounds, Chap. VI. Fig. 87.

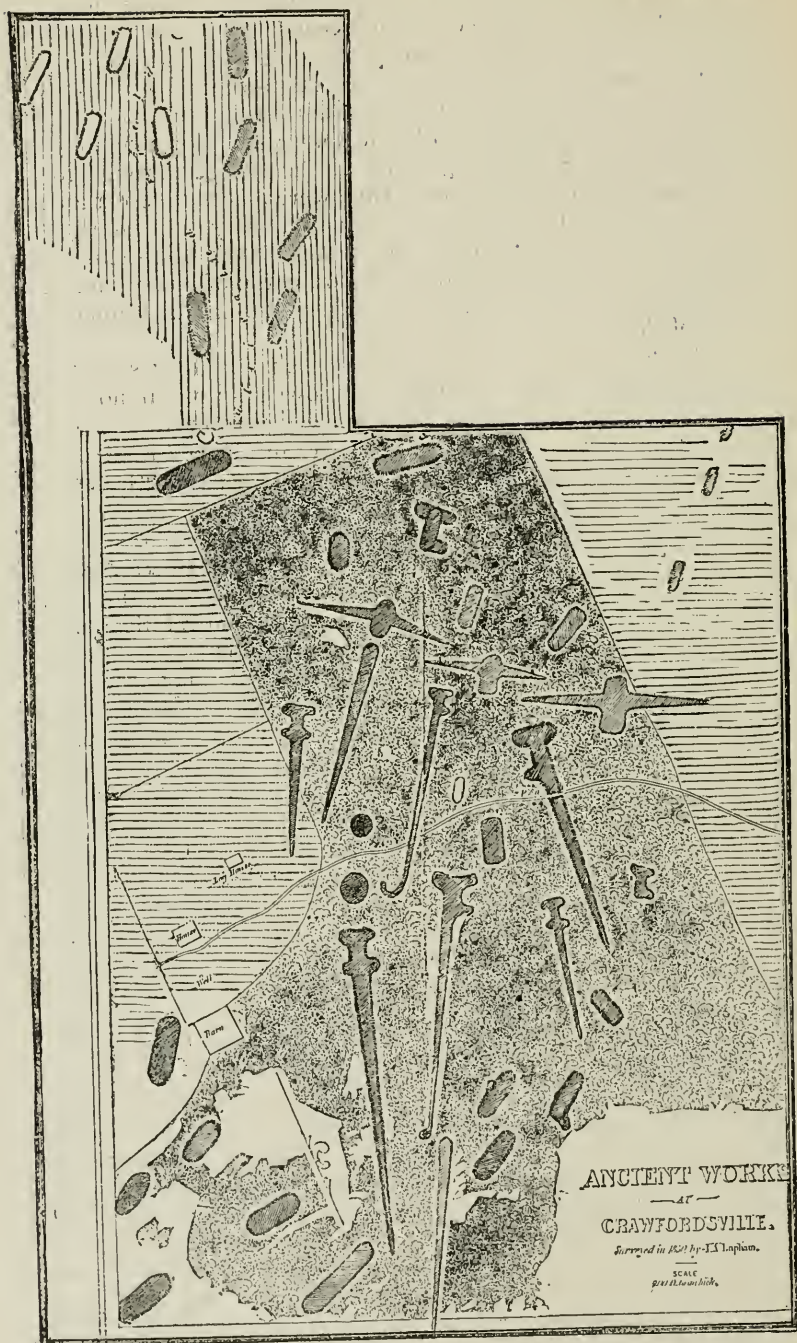


Fig. 139.—GAME DRIVE NEAR GREAT BEND.

swamp. [Sec. 28.] This is a very interesting group. It was plotted by Dr. Lapham and we have drawn from his illustration, and give a picture of it. [See Fig. 139.] It will be noticed that most of the effigies are arranged in lines which run nearly parallel. They consist of panthers and turtles; the tails of both extend to unnatural lengths. Between the effigies are oblong mounds making angles with the bodies and tails; and before the effigies are these bird mounds with their wings extended across the group. Other oblong mounds are scattered about in front of them. The group is at present in a pasture but plowed ground surrounds it on all sides. The reasons for calling the group a game drive are as follows: (a) the situation near the rice swamp and between it and the prairie on a tongue of land and in a place which would be a very natural run-way for deer. (b.) The effigies form narrow passages through which the deer might pass. If there were screens on the mounds the hunters could shoot into the animals without being seen. (c.) A larger high mound is situated near the water's edge, not visible in the cut, which would serve excellently for an observatory by day, or fires might be lighted upon it by night, and the animals attracted by the light.

7 The location of the village with its game drives, altars, burial mounds, and caches, is on an old trail which formerly led from the Indian villages at the mouth of the Milwaukee River, past Muskegon Lake, crossing the Fox River at this point and then leading on to Indian villages at Koshkonong Lake and to others on the Four Lakes. These villages did not belong to the same tribe, for the Pottowatomies were at Milwaukee, the Winnebagoes at Koshkonong and on the Four Lakes. Yet the trail could be seen long after the country was settled. It afterward became the stage route. This trail is laid down in the picture; it crossed the group, when Dr. Lapham surveyed it.

[III.] The Third village to which we shall call attention is the so called ancient city at Aztalan. This is the city which excited so much attention at the time of its discovery. It was said to be the home of the Aztecs and hence the name Aztalan. It is the most celebrated earth work in the state and one of the most celebrated in the United States. It was visited and described before any one knew that there were effigy mounds in Wisconsin and the myth concerning it seems to have been remembered when the emblematic mounds began to be noticed. It was a favorite theory with explorers that the effigies had their heads all directed toward the southwest, as if the animals were in flight toward Mexico. This is a mere fancy, though the course of the streams and the relative situation of the effigies on the banks of the streams do bring the heads of many of the effigies in that direction. The ancient wall at Aztalan was first noticed by the government surveyors, it was afterward described by a traveller from the East. A description by N. F. Hyer also appeared in the Milwaukee *Ad-*

vertiser, Jan. 1837. The wall and some of the works inside of the wall were surveyed by Dr. I. A. Lapham in 1850, but it was not at the time ascertained whether the work was an ancient city of the emblematic Mound Builders or not. The opinion has been expressed within a few years that it was the work of a colony of southern Mound Builders. Dr. Cyrus Thomas advocates this theory and speaks of the pyramids as having great resemblance to those found at the South, but it is untenable.

It does not resemble the southern earth works in anything except in having pyramids, and these are in contrast, for they are much lower and smaller in every way. The pyramids at the south are some of them 60 and 90 feet high. These are not over 12 feet high. There are works in Tennessee which resemble this ancient city, especially the walled enclosure at Savannah.*

These have continuous walls with bastions and truncated pyramids as well as inner walls the same as this has. The works in Tennessee have been taken to be fortifications left by the Spaniards under Ferdinand De Soto, but have since proven to be Mound Builder's forts or villages.

In reference to the wall and the works within the wall, it should be said that they resemble modern fortifications more than any other earth works erected by the Mound Builders. The resemblance may be seen in the following particulars:

a. It has a continuous wall. b. The wall has projections resembling bastions. c. The wall is thrown out at the corners and ends very much as in modern forts. d. It has an out work consisting of a double wall, which protects one corner of the enclosure. e. It has a double line of walls inside of the enclosure. f. It has platforms at the corners resembling the foundations of block houses. g. It has cellars which might be taken as the places where the houses of the garrison stood. h. It has an excavation inside of the enclosure which might be taken for a well. All of these are very exceptional features in a Mound Builders' village.

We think, however, that we have discovered, notwithstanding all this, that it is an enclosure which belonged to the Emblematic Mound Builders. The writer visited the place in 1849, in company with Prof. J. J. Bushnell of Beloit; again, in 1875 with Mr. Wm. Spoor, and in 1885 with Mr. Porter of Chicago, and Mr. Terry of Lake Mills. The results of our observation are as follows:

1. The wall was made of clay with a mixture of grass and twigs or brush wood; but it was not brick.† The

*See Sm. Rep. 1870, p. 408.

†Dr. I. A. Lapham thinks that the burning took place after the wall was built, and Dr. J. D. Butler compares it to the burning of Cæsar's forts. See *Antiq. of Wis.*; p. 45.

vegetable fibre has decayed owing to the age of the wall.

2. The bastions,* so called, in the walls are mere projections resembling in some respects the round mounds which are frequently seen strung along a ridge or long mound. Such long mounds or walls have been seen on Mound street in the city of Madison, also at Merrill Springs near Madison, at Batavia, twelve miles east of Prairie du Chien, and several other places. The so called bastions have depressions or sinuses, or possibly the remains of a sloping way, as Dr. Lapham has said. They are about 40 ft. in diameter, 2 to 5 ft. high; and their mean distance apart is 82 feet.

3. The platform or pyramids† are not to be compared to the pyramids of Mexico, or the pyramidal mounds of the Southern States. The elevations do resemble the temple mounds of Ohio, especially the platform mounds at Marietta. They were undoubtedly used as platforms for houses or temples. The area at the top of one was 53 ft.; of the other 60 by 65 ft.

4. The so called cellars‡ do not differ materially from the lodges which are common in Missouri, Tennessee, and Minnesota. The huts of the Mound Builders were sometimes placed in a row on raised platforms of earth, so as to be higher than the rest of the enclosure.

5. The so called well is a mere excavation with a ring of earth around it. There is a natural spring within the enclosure, which is at present filled with reeds and marsh grass.

6. The mounds inside of the enclosure were some of them, we think, effigies.|| This we could not be sure of, as they have been nearly obliterated; but by taking Dr. Lapham's plat we could restore them and make effigies resembling the serpent, the weasel, and several other animals. Dr. J. W. Phene thought he recognized the serpent in the wall or raised way where the cellars are situated. But the excavations on the graded way are arranged so as to give the serpentine appearance to the ground where they are, and we therefore ascribe these to fancy rather than to any actual or intended figures.

*The wall is 631 feet long at the north end, 700 feet on the south end, 1419 feet on the west side, total length 2750 feet. It is 22 feet wide, and from one to 5 feet high. It is too insignificant to be mistaken for the walls of a fort." "The bastions resemble a simple row of mounds. See *Antiq. of Wis.*, p. 43.

†"The ground descends toward the river abruptly near the western wall. The highest point is at the southwest corner, occupied by a square truncated mound, rising by successive steps; the enclosing walls curve around this. It is further guarded by two outer walls. This was the most sacred place as well as the highest. See *Antiq. of Wis.*, p. 45.

‡"The excavations are not to be confounded with the hiding places or caches. The rings or circles constitute a very peculiar feature and are supposed to be the remains of mud houses. The whole interior of the enclosure appears to have either been excavated, or thrown up into mounds or ridges, the pits or irregular excavations being quite numerous. The want of regularity is opposed to the opinion that they were the cellars of buildings. See *Antiq. of Wis.*, p. 47.

||"We may suppose it to have been a place of worship. There is no guarded opening or gateway into the enclosure. It can only be entered by water or by climbing over the walls. The fort is entirely commanded from the summit of a ridge. The people of Aztalan were a different people from those who erected the animal shaped mounds. This location may possibly have been occupied by a colony of Mexicans. At the time of our survey a crop of wheat was growing on the south part of the enclosure. *Antiq. of Wis.*, pp. 49 and 50.

7. There are effigies near the ancient city.* One group we discovered in the cemetery a mile north of the village, consisting of three turtle effigies and several burial mounds. A group in the pasture across the road consisted of a turtle, bird, and a very interesting squirrel effigy. Another near a barn belonging to Mr. Boutell, resembles a massive panther. An effigy mound may be seen on the bluff close by the enclosure overlooking it from the other side of the river.

8. There is a lookout mound on a high hill, half a mile north of the cemetery, a mile and a half north from the ancient city. This commands a view of the enclosure with its platforms and lodges. And at the same time presents a prospect over the open valley of the river for several miles north. There are lookout mounds on all the hills surrounding this.

9. Aztalan was a central place. It was once selected for the capitol of the state. It was a place where Indian trails centered. There were formerly Indian villages near it. Lake Koshkonong, Lake Winnebago, the Four Lakes, Fox Lake, Ripley Lake, are all within 40 miles where there were numerous villages. Rock Lake, or Lake Mills is within 3 miles. Here there are many effigies, and burial mounds. The east shore of the lake is lined with artificial ridges and effigies, which were probably used as screens for hunters. The lake still abounds with duck and wild owl. An extensive forest, called the Jefferson woods, comes down to the shores of the Crawfish, immediately east of the ancient city. In this forest there are remains of ancient villages which belonged to the Indian tribes and various groups of effigies. This was the forest which Blackhawk sought to reach when he fled before General Atkinson.

There is a mingled wildness and tameness in the region. Savagery and civilization struggle together at the ancient city.† The effigies seem ancient, but the walls seem modern. The platforms remind one of barbarism, but the outworks remind us of civilized people. There is a mystery about the place; it differs from all other village enclosures which belong to the emblematic Mound Builders.

10. The scene resembles that which surrounds the works at Newark, O. An amphitheatre of hills surrounds the place, most of them at a distance of from 1 to 3 miles. The land is rolling, interspersed with valleys and hills which were formerly covered with a growth of massive oak trees. The stream runs through this valley furnishing an interesting feature to the landscape. As we visited the spot and stood on one of the mounds which

*See the map of Ancient City.

†“A number of rusty gunlocks in scattered fragments have been discovered near the surface of the ground, and pieces of iron, copper and brass have been found in the neighborhood.”

Several feet below the surface of the large square mound near the northwest corner of the enclosure, was found the remains of cloth enveloping a portion of the human skeleton.

Remains of a skeleton found enclosed by a rude stone wall plastered with clay, and covered with a sort of inverted vase of the same material.

surmount the hill above the village, a storm swept over the scene. The black thunder cloud above, the dark stream below, the hills covered with mingled lights and shades, the forests and fields, presenting a variety of colors, the distant horizon veiled with the falling showers, an occasional flash of lightning with the accompanying thunder, and yet the sun shining as if struggling with the shadows and the storm, it was a scene which impressed the mind as one of rare beauty; but below, near at hand, was the ancient city with its mysterious platforms, walls, and other reminders of a people who have passed away.*

There came a sense of awe as we looked about. It was easy to imagine that the place was once given to religious assemblies, and that the platforms or pyramids were covered with temples and smoked with sacrificial fires, and to realize that the place was very sacred to the people.

[IV] Another village of the Emblematic Mound-Builders is situated at Green Lake on the east side of the lake, on land belonging to Mr. Hill of the Lake Side House, Sec. 32, T. 16, R. 13 E. This village is nearly obliterated, except that a few of the effigies are left. [See map of works at Green Lake.] The remains of a stockade wall are still faintly perceptible. It seems to have been a square enclosure with effigies placed near the corners to guard the gateways or openings in the stockade wall. One of the effigies seems to have formed a part of the east wall, or at least to have run parallel with the wall. (1.) The stockade on the west side has projections in it similar to the so-called bastions at Aztalan, though the embankment here is very faint and the bastions are very obscure. There are spurs in the embankment which run down to the bank of the lake making a graded way to the waters edge as if to a landing. There are four slightly elevated platforms in which pits (resembling those at Aztalan), cellars, as they are called, or lodges more properly, are still seen. (2.) The heads of the effigies at the north end seem to serve as guards to the entrance, but the tails serve as outworks, which protect the village and the row of lodges on that side. The body of the effigy at the south end with two long mounds, serve as outworks on that side. (3.) There are landings along the shore north of the village which seem to be guarded by long mounds and effigies. g. The village is remarkable for having many effigies near it. On the hill above is a massive wild goose which seems to be guarding the village. 6. A little farther away is a group of effigies, (7;) one of them a turtle just dragging his body up the bank of the creek. Still further on is a group containing two squirrels, a fox, an eagle, a swallow, a panther. (11.) There are corn hills and a large ring

*"Here may have been the great annual feasts and sacrifices of a whole nation. The temple, lighted by fires kindled on the great pyramids, and at every projection on the walls, would have presented an imposing spectacle well calculated to impress the minds of the people with awe and solemnity." See *Antiq. of Wis.* p. 50.

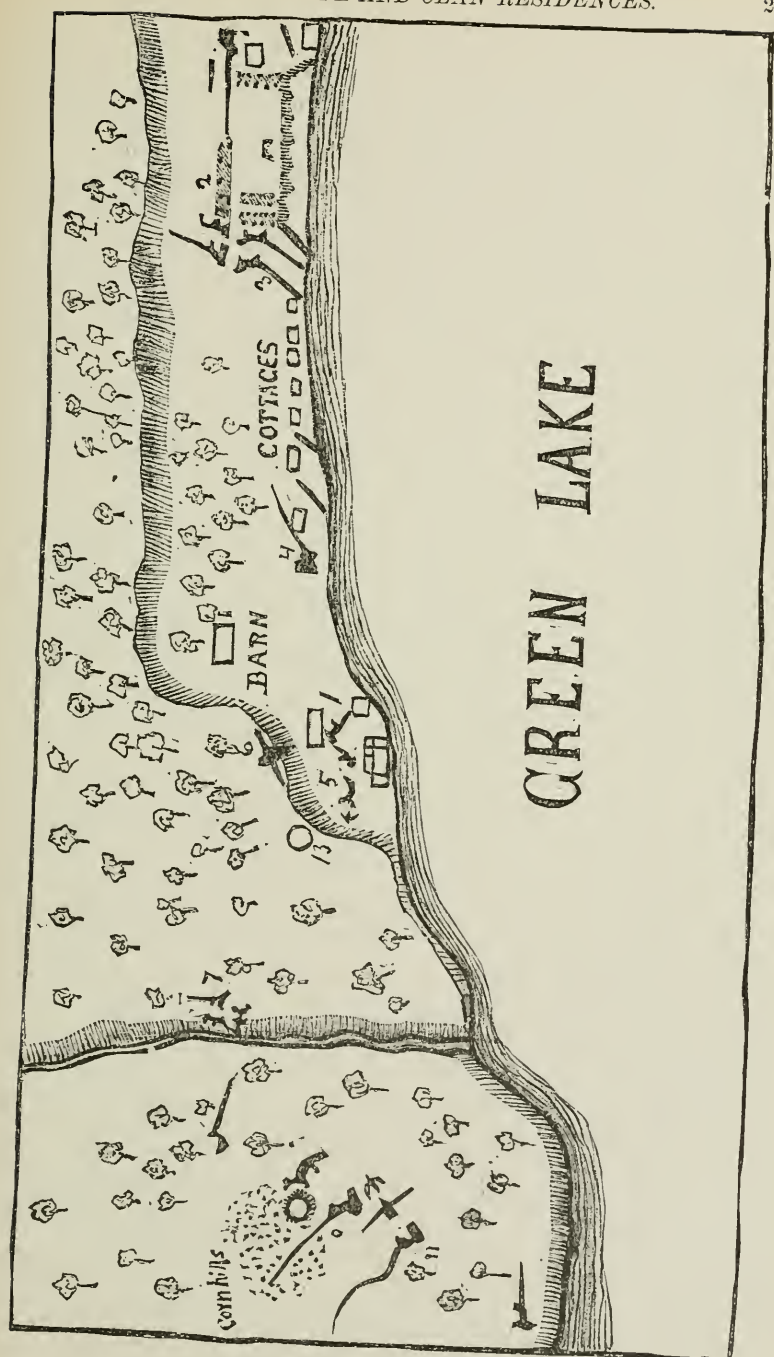


Diagram VIII—MAP OF GREEN LAKE.

the remains of a council house near the effigies, and a dance ground and council house on the hill near the wild goose.(13.) The tradition is that this was a favorite resort with the Indians. What is still more remarkable, there are effigies on all sides of the lake; the same animal being represented in them that seems to be guarding the village. We should say that the squirrel was the totem of the clan which lived in this village. Squirrel effigies may be seen on all the high bluffs surrounding the lake; A very large and beautiful one on the Sugar Loaf, Sec. 30, T. 16, R. 13. also several on the bluffs west of Norwegian Bay, Sec. 36, T. 16, R. 12. The squirrel is represented in a very great number of attitudes; sometimes with its tail and head erect as if leaping; again, with its long tail curved up as if running, again, with its body bent, its head lifted up, and tail curled down as if standing and listening. The effigies on the west side have their heads very near the brow of the hills, their tails running out at a long distance over the bluff. One has the great length of 600 feet. At the extreme south end of the lake, there is the effigy of a deer in flight, its head erect, legs stretched out as if in rapid motion; Sec. 10, T. 15, R. 12 E. The effigy of a fox on the land adjoining that where the village is, is also very interesting. It is in the attitude which that animal usually assumes; it is very natural and life-like. The fox seems to be prowling about the circle and conveys the idea that the effigy was erected at the time that the council house was standing. The corn-hills are later, for they cover the effigies and have obliterated a part of the circle.

IV. We now turn to the question whether the villages of the Emblematic Mound-Builders were clan residences, and we answer it as follows: 1. The effigies guard the villages in such a way as to give the idea that they were clan emblems. 2. The same effigies, that is, effigies representing the same animals, are frequently found in connection with the game drives in the vicinity of the villages and convey the idea that the clan emblems of the hunters and the effigies of the animals hunted were placed near together in these game drives. 3. Certain effigies are very numerous and are often repeated in certain limited districts conveying the idea that the clans placed their totems on different parts of their territory to show that they were the possessors. 4. The location of lone effigies on isolated and prominent points convey the idea that clan boundaries were marked by them. 5. The general study of the prehistoric map has convinced us that the people were divided into clans; that they placed their emblems on different parts of their territory; that sometimes they placed the same emblems near their villages and sometimes on the hill tops to show the clan boundaries and placed them in groups in such a way as to make a clan record out of them. These conclusions are based upon actual observations and we proceed to illustrate

the point by describing the localities which we have visited.

1. We have frequently found effigies surrounding the enclosures and guarding the entrances to them. We have found also that the effigies in the neighborhood were the same as those on the village site. In two cases the effigies were mingled so that it was difficult to tell which one was designed for the village totem or the clan emblem. The wolf and the turtle are associated with eagles at Waukesha; three types. At Great Bend the panther, the turtle, and the prairie hen are associated; the village however, is guarded by a panther. We should say that the panther was the clan emblem here, and the same at Waukesha. At Green Lake, the squirrel is evidently the clan emblem. It is more numerous than all the other effigies put together and is more prominent in its situation. [See Figs. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139.]

2. This combination of emblems on the same ground is another point. This makes the problem complicated. It is possible that the dream god was given with the clan emblem.

There are places where animal effigies have this fetichistic character plainly discernible. The dream-god is portrayed in the effigies. Hunters would dream about the animals which they were to hunt. These were called game gods. They would also dream and would imagine that prey gods accompanied them. The buffalo, elk, and deer were game gods. The eagle, the fox, the wolf and the panther were prey gods. These different classes of animals were placed in effigy along with the clan emblem near the game drives. This we think has been proven by our observation. At Beloit there is a game drive where the buffalo is placed near the drive way. [See Fig. 118 and map in chapter VII. The turtle, which is the clan emblem of the region is placed on the hills above the game drive. At another place the panther, as a prey god, was erected near a deer drive and the turtle was used again for the lookout. Near Prairie du Chien the bear was discovered in one or two groups and the buffalo in another group, but both associated with the swallow, which is the clan emblem of that region. The position of the groups on the summit of the hills and the arrangement of the long mounds show that these groups were game drives, but the universal prevalence of the swallow proved that that was the clan emblem. [See map.]

3. The analogy can be carried out very easily in connection with the effigies. The writer at one time, accompanied a party from Washington, Dr. Cyrus Thomas among them, in an exploring trip among the mounds near Prairie du Chien. The route taken was along the dividing ridge which separates the Wisconsin from the Kickapoo River where were numerous groups which the writer took to be game drives. At the end of the day's drive the party came down into the bottom land of the Mississippi River and here discovered a series of large platform mounds which the writer believes marked the site of the village.

The groups were as follows:

1. A group of effigies consisting of a swallow and a long mound or ridge on Sec. 35, S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$; T. 8, R. 6, five miles east from the town of Prairie du Chien, in the town of Eastman.

2. A group of four swallows in a line, and one long mound, on Sec. 35, N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, T. 8, R. 6.

3. Group on Sec. 36, N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, T. 8, R. 6, has 3 swallows, 13 long mounds, 7 round mounds, and a buffalo effigy.

4. A single wolf effigy on Sec. 36, N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, T. 8, R. 6, near a spring and an old log tavern, where it is said that Jeff. Davis frequently stopped.

5. A group consisting of two bear effigies, one swallow and a long mound on Sec. 24, T. 8, R. 6.

6. A swallow and a long mound with round mounds strung upon it near to the village of Batavia. Sec. 18, T. 8, R. 5.

7. A bear effigy a mile west of Batavia on Sec. 13, T. 8, R. 6.

All of these groups are on the ridge which divides the valley of the Mississippi from the Kickapoo. They are placed at the head of the long coolies or gullies which

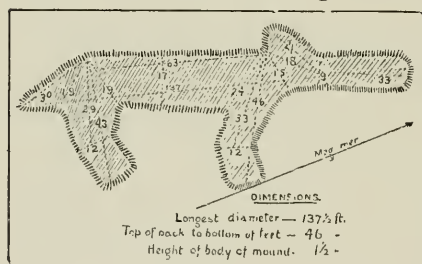


Fig. 141.

break down through the bluffs and drain the ridge into the rivers on either side. The effigies are placed just where the animals would be likely to cross the ridge from one valley into the other, and the effigies show what kind of animals they were. In passing down from the ridges to the valley of the Mississippi river, the party discovered a group consisting of two wolf effigies, two long mounds and several obscure effigies nearly obliterated. This was at the mouth of Pickadee coolie, five miles north of Prairie du Chien. Passing still further down the river to the Dousman place, the party came to the group which was said by Dr. J. W. Phene to contain the effigy of a camel, but which has been surveyed and plotted by

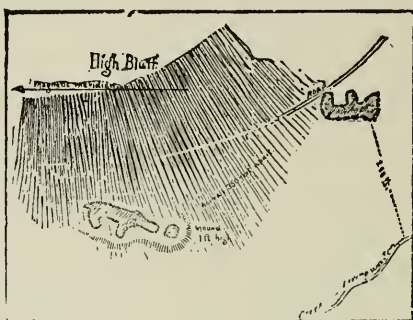


Fig. 140.

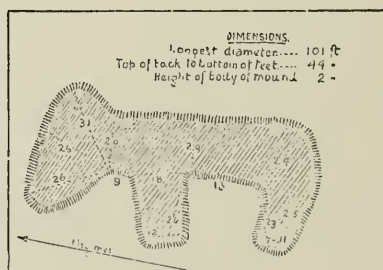
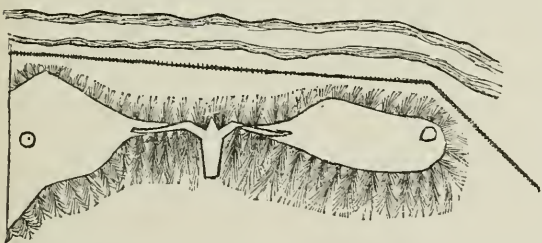


Fig. 142.

Mr. T. H. Lewis. The effigies were very obscure. They may have been intended to represent a buffalo and a wolf, but it would be absurd to call either of them a camel. See Figs. 140, 141, 142.

Near the Courliss Bayou, the party came upon a group of large platform or conical mounds arranged at intervals making a large circle around a level plat of ground containing about twenty acres. There were no effigies but the mounds were large enough to be used as platforms, or a place of refuge in the time of high water. It was the impression of the party that these mark the site of the village; and that the mounds were built high and large so as to be places of refuge in time of flood. The so called village was near the water but in plain sight of the coolie on the Dousman place, and could be easily reached from both coolies. The distance from the village to the different game drives is from six to ten miles. If an effigy of the swallow had been found here, there would have been no difficulty in concluding that this was the village which the clan occupied.

4. The discovery of the clan boundaries was the result of subsequent exploration. One such was found at a point of the bluffs three miles south of Prairie du Chien*. The swallow was placed in a peculiar situation, on top of the bluff, overlooking a level plat of ground where were several effigies, but too obscure to identify with any particular animal. There



was a conical mound at the very point of the bluff which may have been used as a look out station or a beacon. The swallow

Fig. 143—SWALLOW ON A BLUFF AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. low was placed between the beacon mound and the bluff. In its shape it corresponded to the shape of the tongue of land and brought out the resemblance of the ridge to the swallow. Its wings, which were bent, stretched along the narrow knife-like edge of the bluff or ridge, making an elevated but crooked path across; the head and tail bending down the sides of the ridge. It is a very singular effigy, resembling an ornament embossed on a knife blade, its form being raised above the rocky ridge in distinct outlines. It would seem as if the intention was to make the effigy as striking as possible. No swallow was found on the bottom land. The effigy of a bear on land belonging to Postmaster General Vilas, and of an elk near the old depot, were all of the effigies found on the bottom land. The swallow seems to have been placed on the bluffs overlooking the scene.

On the Kickapoo river, five miles north of Wauzeka, a lone

swallow* was found situated on a high, slightly bluff where a view could be had of all the region which had been traversed by the party a few days before. Though the game drives and effigies were not visible at this distance; yet the village of Batavia and the farm houses on the ridge were plainly to be seen. The route traversed to reach this lonely spot was by way of the Wisconsin and Kickapoo rivers over a very rough country; the distance was nearly thirty miles, though across from the bluff to the ridge was perhaps about five. The situation of this effigy on the height of ground overlooking the surrounding country, conveyed the idea that it was placed there to mark the boundary line of the clan. It was on the east side of the river, but no effigy like it was found farther east. A swallow effigy was, however, found four miles further north.† This was on the banks of the river in a lonely valley where was a single log hut in a little clearing. The place was surrounded by steep hills and was difficult of access. The swallow was on a plat of sandy ground around which the river made a bend. It would seem as if the effigy was placed here so as to show that the river was occupied by this clan. The impression formed after visiting the different groups was that the whole region embraced within Crawford County, with its precipitous bluffs and coolies, with the prairie where the city of Prairie du Chien now stands, bounded by three rivers, the Kickapoo, Wisconsin, and the Mississippi belonged to the swallow clan.

5. The clan record has not often been found in connection with village sites, but the fact that there are boundary lines beyond which the emblems are not seen, would indicate that villages and clan residences were identical. This work of tracing out the emblem of the different clans has not yet been finished, yet there is a predominance to certain effigies in certain districts, which confirms the impression. ‡In Grant Co. the abode of a clan was found situated near the Mississippi river on the terrace just above high-water mark. The land surrounding it was frequently flooded but the particular spot was chosen because of its height. No effigy was seen here. It is, however, only a mile or two north of the so-called elephant mound. The bottom land in this region is frequently broken by swails. The streams which flow down towards the river from the high bluffs adjoining have plowed these wide furrows through the sandy soil leaving the beds lower than the common level. In these swails or dry

*On Sec. 6, N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, T. 7, R. 4, W., on land belonging to Wm. Coolie; length of body 59 ft., head 14 ft., wing, to first joint 25 ft., second joint 46 ft., spread from tip to tip 136 ft.; from angle of wing to head 29 ft. Mounds were discovered at the mouth of the Kickapoo river in village of Wauzeka.

†On Sec. 17, T. 8, R. 4, W., Marietta Township. Land belonging to Wm. Posey. Length of the effigy; body, 54 ft., head 27 ft., right wing 100 ft., left wing 95 ft.; spread between the tip of the wing, 160 ft.

‡On the Bagley place, three miles south of Wyalusing. It consists of 15 round mounds similar to those in the Courliss group. Another group of long mounds with round mounds interspersed on Settlevich's place just south of Bagley's place. Several long mounds with round mounds on Harris' place.

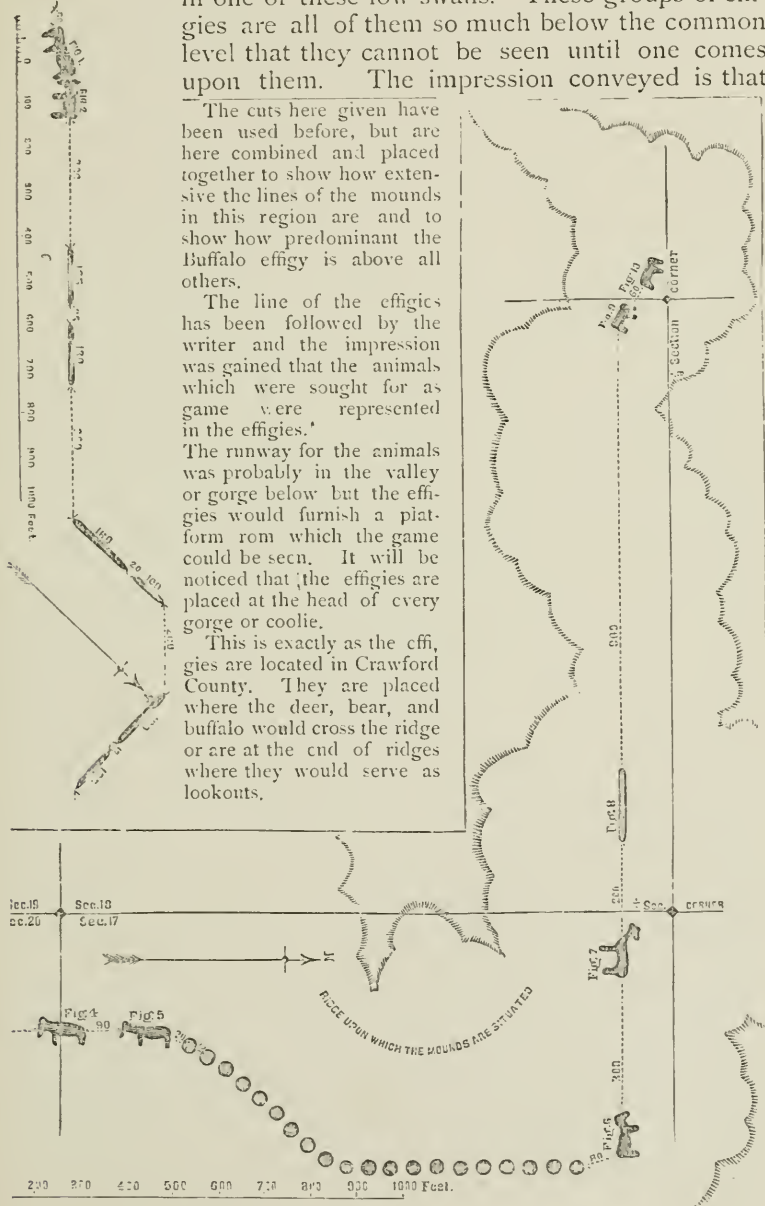
beds are numerous groups of mounds, some of them composed of long and round mounds which run in rows parallel with the sides of the swails, and some of them composed of effigies. The effigy of the elephant and the accompanying effigy of a bird is in one of these low swails. These groups of effigies are all of them so much below the common level that they cannot be seen until one comes upon them. The impression conveyed is that

The cuts here given have been used before, but are here combined and placed together to show how extensive the lines of the mounds in this region are and to show how predominant the Buffalo effigy is above all others.

The line of the effigies has been followed by the writer and the impression was gained that the animals which were sought for as game were represented in the effigies.*

The runway for the animals was probably in the valley or gorge below but the effigies would furnish a platform from which the game could be seen. It will be noticed that the effigies are placed at the head of every gorge or coolie.

This is exactly as the cliffs are located in Crawford County. They are placed where the deer, bear, and buffalo would cross the ridge or are at the end of ridges where they would serve as lookouts.



they were game drives placed in these long swails or dry beds because they were the natural runways for wild game which came down from the bluffs to the river bank. Such was the probable object of the group where the mastodon was. The massive eagle stretched its wings nearly across from one side of the swail to the other, and would make an excellent screen for hunters. On the summit of the precipitous bluff above many effigies have been seen by the writer.* They are in long lines. They run from one end of the rocky spur to the other, making a quasi wall parallel with the river and crowning the face of the bluff. Others run in long lines from the edge of the precipice back to the highlands. The whole region is cut up into gorges and narrow tortuous ridges. On the summit of these rocky heights, these rows of long mounds and effigies are frequently seen. Wherever a view can be gained of either the river, or the surrounding country, lookout mounds are placed. They seem to have been designed for roadways on which sentinels could run: and yet they were broken by openings or their object may have been for screens, behind which hunters could hide as they watched the bear and other wild game climb up the precipice and down again to the valley of the river. Whatever their object was they form a complete net work which not only covers the bluffs and highlands but extends to the bottom lands and swails, and encloses the land in its meshes. Some of the lines run three or four miles. There are interspersed between the long mounds, effigies of elk, bear, buffalo, and in one case a squirrel. These effigies are all of them in very striking attitudes; the elk with horns projecting as if in attitude of attack; the squirrel with body and tail curved as if running. Buffaloes also seemed to be standing on the edge of the bluffs looking down the deep coolies. An owl was stationed on a high point where a distant view could be gained. A coon was seen straddling a very narrow pass on the top of a rocky precipice, its body and tail forming a pathway and its legs hanging down on either side resting against the edge of the precipice.† The buffalo effigy could be traced here to be the clan emblem, and its totemic character was every where prevalent. Wherever the clan lived the people managed to stamp the impress of their occupancy upon the hills and valleys, and one could not help thinking that the effigies were many of them totems or clan emblems.

*Group on bluff overlooking Wyalusing, on Kendall's place, S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 31, consisting of squirrel and 4 long mounds. A line runs back from this consisting of 9 long mounds, and ends in a group consisting of buffalo, wildcat and the owl.

†On Derby's place.—A line nearly a mile long runs from Derby's place to Glenn's place, N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30, T. 6, R. 6, W.; consisting of long mounds, and two buffalo effigies. Another line described by Moses M. Strong on the Bayfield place: This is nearly a mile long; it consists of an elk effigy, 2 bears, and long mounds. A group overlooking Bridgeport in one direction and Prairie du Chien in the other has been discovered by the writer on Goss' place. The long mounds run from the edge of the bluff overlooking the Wisconsin, back 1,000 ft. and end with a turtle effigy, which probably served as an outlook.

WHO WERE THE EFFIGY BUILDERS? TO WHAT AGE AND RACE DID THEY BELONG?

CHAPTER X.

In drawing to a conclusion the articles upon the Emblematic Mounds, we propose to consider the question who were the Effigy Builders? This is not an easy question to answer, and we do not expect to answer it in any positive or indisputable manner, but merely propose to give suggestions, and leave our readers to draw their own inferences. It is not likely that, in the absence of all tradition or reliable knowledge on the part of the Indian tribes who have dwelt here since the advent of the white man that any one will arrive at the conclusion of this matter. Opinions will differ even if we give all the evidence that is possible for from the same data, different persons will draw different conclusions and there is no positive proof possible. We go over the ground laying down certain foundations and then leave others to build on them as they may. We now take the position that the effigy builders were different from most of the tribes which were located here after the time of the discovery; that they did not belong to the Algonquin race. We do not know whether they were a people related to the Dakotas or Sioux, though it sometimes seems as if they were. It is a singular fact that nearly all the Algonquins found in the state of Wisconsin belong to tribes which migrated into the state after the discovery by Columbus, and their migrations have been traced by different writers.

The Dakotas are supposed also to have been recent immigrants for they have traditions among them of their migrations from the far East, and some think that they were formerly located on the Ohio River and built the mounds there, and were driven out by the Iroquois. There are, to be sure, a few among the Algonquin Indians who maintain that their ancestors built the effigies. The writer has had conversation with the son of the old Indian chief Oshkosh and put this inquiry to him. He said that the Menomonees built the mounds as tribal records and to mark places where they had had battles. On saying that the effigies were not on the Menomonee Territory he answered they are all over and all the tribes built them. This is the nearest to a tradition about the effigies that we have been able to get; and this probably had reference to the common tumuli rather than to the effigies. There is a blank page on which we can find neither history nor

tradition. The only record is written in the hieroglyphics and symbols. The effigies themselves furnish the only clue. If the land was occupied before these tribes came it will be only ascertained from the study of archæology. But archæology at present gives no definite information in reference to it. Our study of the subject will be mainly confined to the testimony given by the mounds themselves.

1. The succession of races. One of the first things which we learn from the history and earth works is that there has been a succession of races on this soil. We should know this from history but archæology confirms it. The study of the mounds proves that there has been a succession. Whether a succession of tribes or races who built effigies, is uncertain, but that there was a succession of tribes who built mounds and other earth works, will, we think, be easily proven. Dr. Lapham maintained that there were four different periods of occupation, as follows:

1. The later Indians, those who were encamped at various points after the settlements began.
2. The earlier Indians who made graves and built the cornhills which are so common in the state.
3. The people who made the garden beds.
4. The effigy builders.

We maintain that the conical mounds give evidence of a succession of races. There is a difference between the tumuli, some of them having been built by later Indians, some of them by earlier tribes and probably some of them by the effigy builders themselves. The tumuli were frequently used by successive tribes, the same mound containing the skeletons of two or three different tribes which were deposited at different times. There is quite a difference between the tumuli in their external appearance; some of them are very massive, about 50 feet in diameter and 10 or 12 feet in height, others are much smaller, varying from 15 to 30 feet in diameter and 5 and 8 feet in height. We propose to give a description of various localities where tumuli have been examined and where the evidences of different periods of occupation are given by them.

1. The first place to which we shall refer is at Prairie du Chien. Here there is a great variety of earth works. In the first place the Old French Fort is in the shape of an earth wall and has been mistaken by some for a work of the effigy builders. It was a stockade and the wall does resemble some of the long mounds which were left by the effigy builders. The presence of chimneys and a well and other modern tokens would prove it to have been built by the white settlers. The employees of the Bureau of Ethnology have, at different periods, excavated mounds. In one, little hawk bells were found and other tokens of contact with the Whites. These hawk bells were probably introduced by the French. The mound was near the site

of old Fort Crawford and was evidently erected by modern Indians. There are many large mounds on the prairie both north and south of the city. The most of them have been dug into, and relics have been taken out from many of them. These relics are such as are peculiar to the Mound Builders but the Indians have long since ceased to possess. The writer has seen some very beautiful specimens of spear heads, scalping knives, and other implements which were taken from mounds three miles south of Prairie du Chien. Mr. Beach, of Prairie du Chien, and Mr. Derby, of Wyalusing, have in their collections a number of these relics. Others may be seen in the Davenport Academy having been placed there by Capt. Hall. Here then we have the tokens of at least three periods of occupation; a. those connected with Ft. Crawford; b. those erected by the Indians who gathered about the Old French Fort; and c. those which were erected by an earlier tribe of Mound Builders. Beside these there are effigies and round mounds which were evidently erected by a still earlier race. The effigies and round mounds connected with them have not been excavated, the object having been with all to collect relics and not to gather information about the effigy builders. The location of the Fort and the mounds connected with the Fort will be seen from the cut which has been furnished by the Historical Society of Wisconsin. [See Diag. IX.] The mounds yielding the most interesting relics are not upon the map. There are, however, tumuli on the island near Mr. Dousman's place. The map illustrates the fact that different periods of occupation may be traced by ruins, earth works, debris, as well as by mounds for we have on it the tokens of three separate white races, namely the Old French Fort, the Fort occupied by the English in 1814, and Fort Crawford which was built by the Americans in 1829.

2. Another place where tumuli have been excavated is the one mentioned by Mr. Moses Strong. [See Fig. 144.] One group visited by Mr. Strong was situated on the bottom lands of the Mississippi River. It contained evidences of intrusive burials. He thought that the mounds might have been built by recent Indians. The other group was near the Wisconsin River. It contained round mounds and effigies. The effigies were excavated but yielded no relics. The round mound contained what he thought was the skeleton of a Mound Builder.*

3. Another place where mounds furnish evidence of different periods of occupation is at Madison. There is a group of effigies, long mounds, and round mounds, on the north shore of Lake Mendota. The group extends the whole distance from land east of the Asylum, across the Asylum grounds, and across the farm west of the asylum; and is composed of a great variety of effigies.

*"It occurred to me that the circular mound might have been stamped or rammed, perhaps for the purpose of protecting the corpse against the attack of prowling animals. I do not think that the most skeptical person could regard this as an intrusive burial. The mound precisely resembles all others in this vicinity and in other different localities which we are accustomed to attribute to the Mound Builders." Sm. Rep. 1876—p. 428.

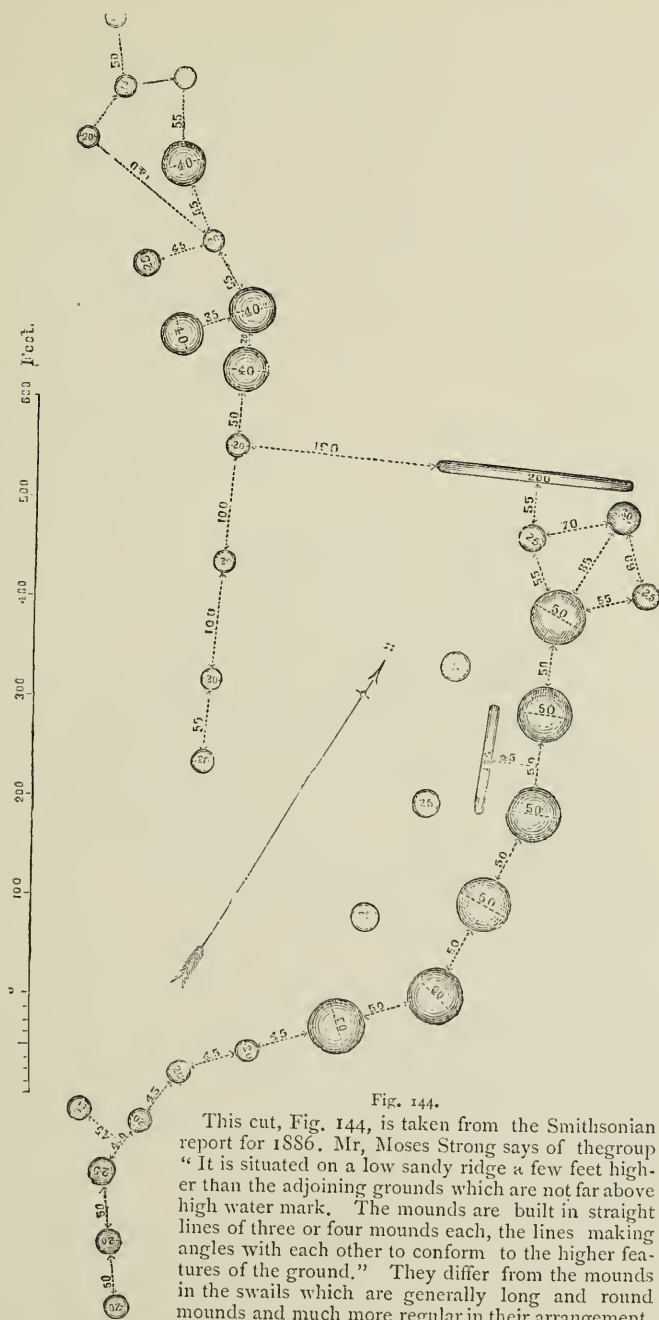


Fig. 144.

This cut, Fig. 144, is taken from the Smithsonian report for 1886. Mr. Moses Strong says of the group "It is situated on a low sandy ridge a few feet higher than the adjoining grounds which are not far above high water mark. The mounds are built in straight lines of three or four mounds each, the lines making angles with each other to conform to the higher features of the ground." They differ from the mounds in the swails which are generally long and round mounds and much more regular in their arrangement,

On a high hill overlooking the lake is a cluster of conical tumuli around which effigies may still be seen. These tumuli have been excavated and have yielded relics. One of them has been described by the author and is shown to have been a sacrificial place as it contained a large altar at the base. Another is referred to here as it was found to contain two burials, one above the other, and so shows that there were two periods of occupation. We furnish a cut which was prepared for Dr. J. N. De Hart, and quote from his description. [See Fig. 146.] It will be noticed that the skeletons are all in the sitting posture. The same posture as described by Moses Strong as seen in the mound in Grant County. The lower skeletons were evidently the original Mound Builders. The upper skeleton may have been that of a later Indian.

The following is the order of the burials:

1st. A deposit of ashes, charcoal and decayed wood, 2 feet below the surface; skeleton of an adult, 3 feet below the surface, covered with loam very compact and hard.

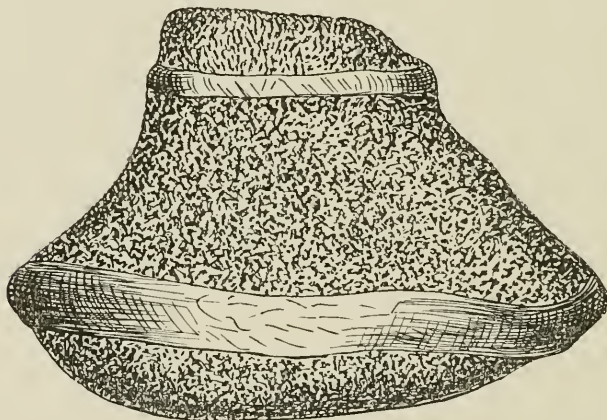


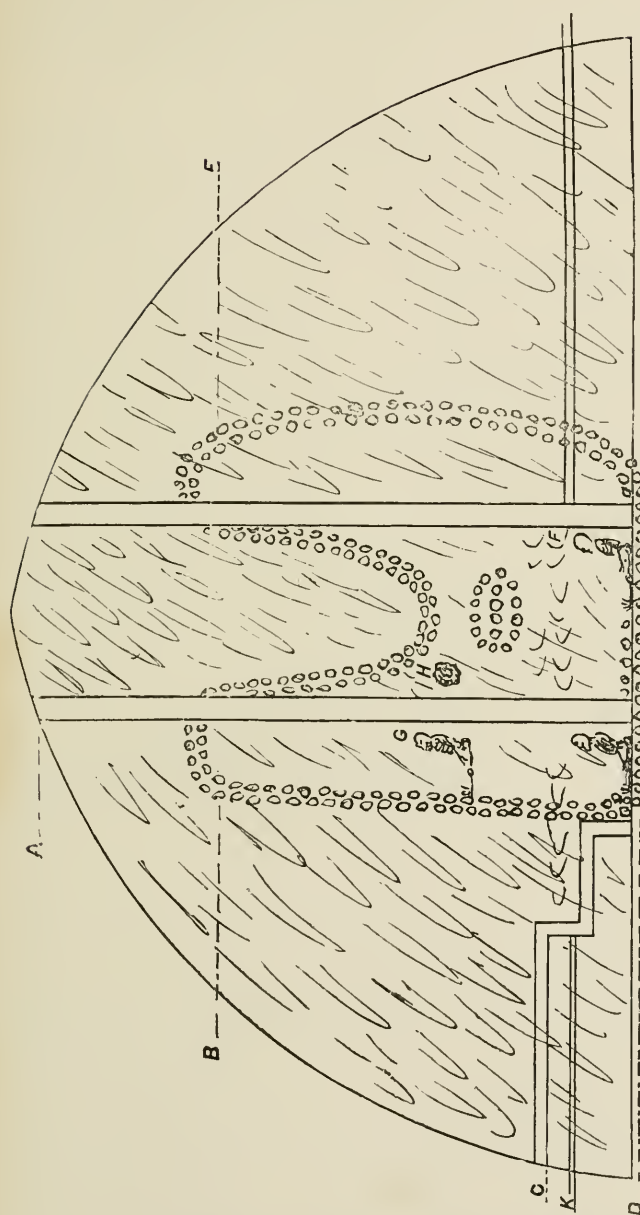
Fig. 145.—PESTLE FROM MOUND.

2nd. A layer of earth and a course of stones, ashes, charcoal, decayed wood, crust of clay baked, and a cavity 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, but no skeleton in it; near the center of the tumulus the skeleton of a child, pieces of ancient pottery, and a stone hammer.

3rd. Near the bottom of the tumulus an adult Mound Builder in a sitting posture, and below this, stones which had been exposed to fire, ashes, charcoal, decayed wood, and a flat discoidal relic.

Dr. De Hart found in the companion burial mound spoken of above, a stone pestle. The altar was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface of the ground, the pestle was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the summit of the mound. [See Fig. 145.]

4th. Another place where tumuli have been excavated is at Lake



DESCRIPTION AND ORDER OF THE BURIALS.—A, Perpendicular shaft, B and E, Groups of stones found by the excavators 5 feet below summit; next a layer of yellow clay about 4 feet deep. C, a drift made into the side 3 feet above the ground K. D, bottom of the mound consisting of a bed of yellow clay. G, skeleton with perforated humerus, pieces of pottery and a stone implement, H, stones, ashes, charcoal and decayed wood. F, two skeletons, one of a child six years old, the other of an adult; found with pieces of pottery and two stone implements, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface of the ground.

Fig. 146.—BURIAL MOUND ON NORTH SIDE OF MENDOTA.

4. Another place where tumuli have been excavated is at Lake Koshkonong on the south west side between Taylor's Point and the village of Newville. Here there are three groups of tumuli about a mile apart. They were excavated by Mr. W. P. Clark in 1874.*

The following is the record given by Mr. Clark:

1st. A mound at the foot of Koshkonong Lake, 13 feet high, and 75 feet in diameter. [See Fig. 147.] At the depth of 12 feet

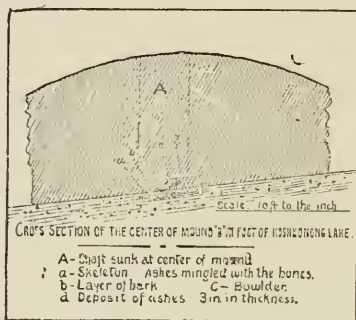


Fig. 147.

situated on a hill top. Mr. W. P. Clark found in one of these mounds a cavity containing a skeleton. He thinks that they were erected by Indians. There are near them in the low land near the water shell heaps and fire beds marking the places, where the Indians had camped. [See Fig. 148.]

3rd. The third group is also situated on a ridge but nearer the water. The

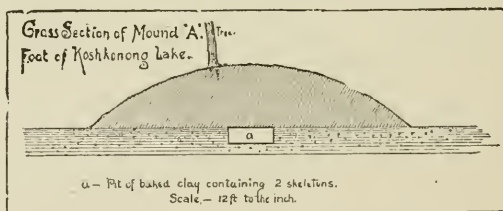


Fig. 148.

mounds are not so large horizontally but are higher. Some of them have been excavated. In one of them was found a copper knife, in another several skeletons.

4th. Several conical tumuli were excavated by Mr. W. P. Clark near Indian Ford. This is the place where there is a game drive.

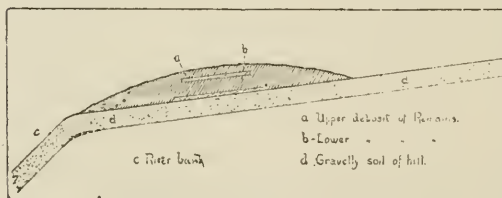


Fig. 149.—BURIAL MOUND AT INDIAN FORD.

One of them contains two burials an upper and a lower. The earth composing it was very compact. The upper burial consisted of three skeletons in a recumbent posture; the lower

*See Amer. Antiq.—Vol. VI—No. 5 p.

burial consisted of 7 skeletons; the bones were thrown together as if it were a bone burial. One of the skeletons contained a stone arrow-head imbedded between the two lower lumbar vertebrae. A perforated stone amulet was found with the skeletons. This mound may have been erected by the effigy builders, or at least the lower burial was probably by them. [See Fig. 149.]

5. Another place where mounds have been excavated is at Beloit. Here there are effigies and round mounds, the common effigy being the turtle. The mounds on the college campus are common tumuli. One of them was excavated a number of years ago and yielded bones but no record was made of it. There is a group of effigies and round mounds near the waterworks a mile north of the college campus.*

Two of the effigies have been excavated and a record made, One by Col. C. Heg in 1870, the other by the writer in 1886. The record of the first was made by Prof. S. Eaton

The report of the last has been furnished by the author to the Ethnological Bureau. Effigy mounds do not often contain burials and we therefore make especial mention of these.

A description of these effigies will therefore be given. *a.* The group is one out of many which are found in different directions from the city. All of them contain the effigy of the turtle. The clan emblem was the turtle. *b.* The situation of the group was such as to lead one to expect it to be a burial place. It was on the bluff overlooking the river, not far distant about a mile from the group on the college campus. *c.* The arrangement of the mounds in the group would indicate that it was not a game drive or a village; possibly the village was upon the college campus. *d.* The burial was upon the surface of the ground. Eight bodies were laid in a line along the central axis of the effigy but were diagonal to the line. *e.* The bodies were buried with the ground very compact but with no evidences of cremation. *f.* The skeletons were arranged as if the burial had been a bone burial; the lower bones of the legs and arms were placed along side of the upper bones, and the skull was placed upon the thorax. *g.* The mound was not stratified but was made up mainly of black loam. *h.* There were no implements of any kind. The bones were much decomposed, showing that the bodies had been buried a long time. We take the ground that the effigy builders used the semblances of animals as their totems just as the later tribes use painted and carved wood over the graves of their dead, and in this consists the difference between the earlier and the later races.

6. Another place where mounds have been excavated is at Rock Lake and at Aztalan. The mounds at Rock Lake on the west side near Lake Mills, were small conical tumuli about two feet high, 12 and 15 feet in diameter. There are about 100 of them. Skeletons have been taken from them and forwarded

*See map of works at Beloit; they are here called Dugway Mounds.

to the Medical Museum of the U. S. Army. These were evidently the skeletons of Indians quite recently buried. The skulls were mainly those of squaws. There are effigies and conical mounds on the east side of Rock Lake but they have not been excavated. The mounds and walls at Aztalan, 3 miles east, are evidently ancient. Skeletons have been taken out from these mounds.

Dr. Lapham excavated mounds at Aztalan; he found the evidences of several periods of occupation. He says, "rusty gun locks and pieces of iron, copper, and brass have been found in the neighborhood. I excavated one of the tumuli outside of the enclosure and found that a post had been inserted in the mound. This post may have been the remains of a medicine pole. According to Mr. Catlin, the Mandans were in the habit of erecting mounds of earth near their villages, around which were arranged in circles the skulls of the dead, after their bodies had decayed on the scaffolds. On each mound was erected a pole hung with articles of mysterious and superstitious import." [See Diag. VII.]

7. Mounds have been excavated near Rush Lake and near Green Lake. The first by a company of students from Ripon College. The second by Mr. Thomas Armstrong. One of those excavated by the students contained bones thrown in indiscriminately, another, a pit wherein bones had been thrown; and another a pillar or pile of large stones or boulders. There were no effigies in this group. The mounds described by Mr. Armstrong were effigies, and belong to the group which we have described as a village site.

Here then, are two races who buried in mounds. In the same vicinity at Green Lake there are corn hills and a ring where was a dance ground belonging to modern Indians. [See Diag. VIII.] On the opposite side of the lake on Sec. 27 there are conical mounds. This is still a favorite place of resort with the Indians.

Mr. Thomas Armstrong has described the skulls which were exhumed from the group at Rush Lake, among which there were no effigies; evidently a group erected by a later race than the effigy builders. He says, "the skeletons were in a good state of preservation and the skulls were more like those of the common Indians; very narrow across the eyes. The forehead slopes rapidly up, the great bulk of the head and by far the highest part was back of the coronal suture." "The general characteristic of the skull was the low and narrow forehead." Here then we have two types of skulls and two races which built mounds, the one the effigy builder, and the other a later people. Other persons have noticed the difference. Some have even undertaken to show that the effigy builders were much lower in their organization. The effigy mound excavated by Mr. Thomas Armstrong was near Green Lake. A skeleton was found near the neck of the effigy but the bones were nearly decomposed.

Mr. Mitchell, of Green Lake, has excavated many mounds

in that vicinity. He has found specimens of pottery which show very delicate and complicated patterns. These may have been the work of effigy builders. He has a large number of very rude stone relics picked up on the north shores of Lake Puckaway. These resemble the argillaceous relics of the gravel beds of Trenton. It is not known whether they were left by the effigy builders or by the modern Indians, but they are interesting as showing what a variety of relics are found on the same territory.

8. "At Fort Atkinson large burial tumuli have been opened; one 10 feet high, and 60 feet in diameter. The graves of Indians were found in penetrating this mound." This is the place where an intaglio mound, a lookout or conical mound accompanying it, a bear effigy and several other animal mounds were discovered by Dr. Lapham. [See Fig. 150.] The group is connected with the large mounds referred to above. This group consisting of the conical mound, long mounds, intaglio or excavated effigy bird mounds, and bear

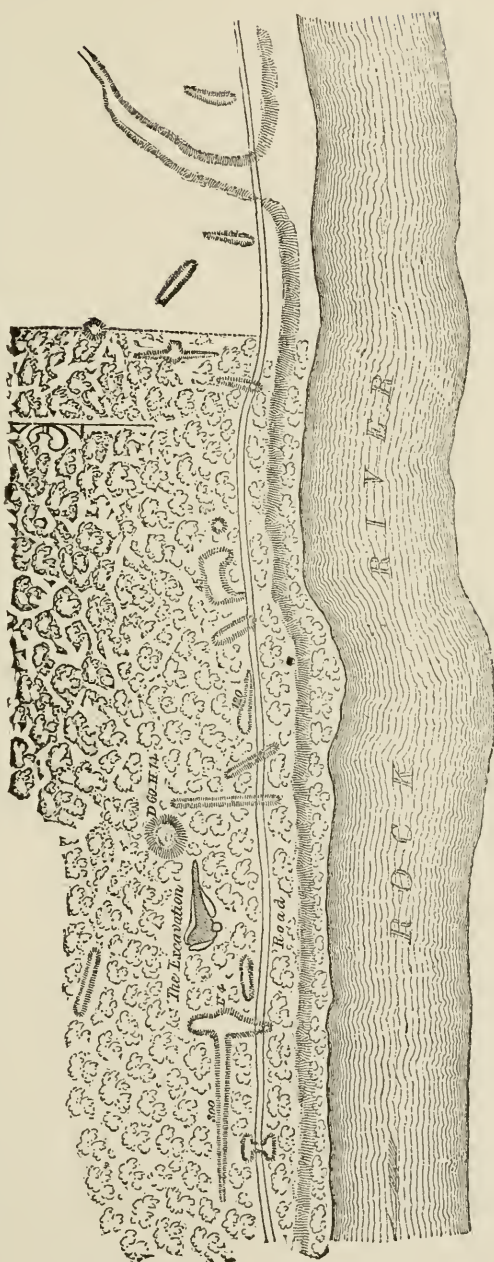


Fig. 150.—EFFIGY MOUNDS AT Ft. ATKINSON.

effigy, may have been designed as a game drive or a place for hunters. It was, however, in the midst of a corn field and in this respect resembles a group of effigies at Indian Prairie north of Milwaukee. It furnishes another case where effigies and corn hills are associated.

Dr. Lapham speaks of these mounds as follows:*

"It will be remarked that, in opening mounds and penetrating to the original deposits, but few implements or ornaments of any kind are found. In this respect, the Wisconsin mound builders differed from their successors who are in the habit of burying articles of supposed value and utility with their dead; and from this fact it may perhaps be inferred that they had less material notions of the spirit world, or at least of the necessities of those who were on the journey to that happy land."

9. Waukesha is another place. Here Dr. Lapham found relics in a tumulus. We have already quoted his remarks.† He says:

"Here the stone cist was 2 feet below the original surface and the mound was erected over it. It is evident that it was not an original burial but a tumulus of a later race of mound builders.

The effigy builders are not known to have placed their dead in cists but generally packed the ground about them, and made their bone burials in pits or upon the surface of the ground. The pipes, red paint, and pottery in this cist show that it was a late race that built the mound and not the effigy builders. The bones were much decayed, "but it is believed," Dr. Lapham says, "that their antiquity could not be very great."

We furnish a cut of the turtle mound at Waukesha, described by Dr. Lapham. The shape of the effigy will be noticed, and the burial place of the later Indians will be recognized. The difference between the two races will be readily seen from this cut. The Indians marked the graves in the rudest manner by placing sticks over them, but the effigy builders marked their abode by erecting elaborate clan emblems in the shape of effigies. See Fig. 151.

10. A series of conical mounds formerly existed near Berlin, on the north side of the Fox River. A body was found in one of these; the body of a child. Near it was a pottery vessel about 6 inches in diameter; and in the mouth of the vessel was another smaller pottery bowl in which it was said sweet meats had been placed. This was evidently an Indian burial.

Rev. Stephen Bowers excavated a number of conical mounds near Baraboo in 1880 and found what he thought gave evidence of cremation. These conical tumuli were near a group of effigies and may have been the burial place of effigy builders.

11. At New London, on the Wolf River, there are graves which are known to have been built by the modern Indians; also corn

*See Lapham's *Antiq. of Wis.*, p. 36.

†See Ninth Paper, *Amer. Antiq.*, Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 16.

hills over which a young forest has grown; a series of burial and long mounds formerly existed here; three classes in all. Many relics have also been found. Old gun barrels among the corn hills; skeletons from the mounds, pockets containing copper knives in the rocks on the side of Mosquito Hill and in the lime stone ridge adjoining.

12. At Montello, during the year 1886, a party consisting of Mr. McDonald and Eben Fox exhumed four skeletons from mounds on the banks of Buffalo Lake, one of the skulls had been penetrated by the point of an arrow which remained extending

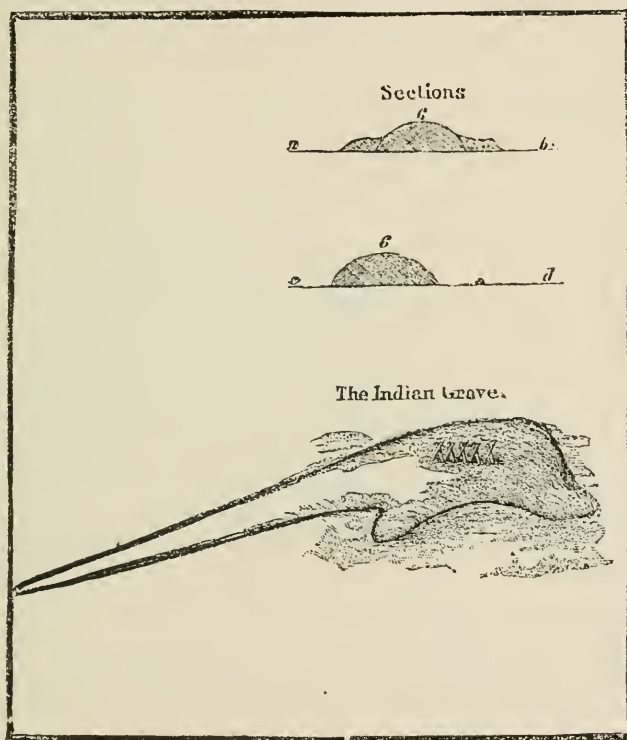


Fig. 151.—TURTLE MOUND AT WAUKESHA.

half an inch on the inside and remained imbedded in the bone.* The skeletons were well preserved, though the skull in some respects resembled those taken out of the mound by Mr. Clark at Koshkonong.

There are a few other places where effigies have been explored, but the same results were reached. At La Crosse, Mr. F. W. Putnam excavated an effigy mound. He says that "the mound had been reduced by long continued trampling of beasts and men, and it may have been dug into in the

*See Amer. Antiq., Vol., VIII., No. 5, p. 298.

past as only a portion of the bones of the skeleton were found."† He however refers to the group of effigies at Baraboo, and speaks of the conical mounds which had been excavated there, and concludes that many of the groups were designed for burial places. He compares the effigies to the "Pumas" cut from stone mentioned by Bandelier as found on a hill in New Mexico which are connected with the ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians, and to the animal and human forms cut in stone found in portions of Mexico. "The transition is easy from these to the combination of similar forms with the architectural ornaments of the large buildings of Yucatan, where pumas, serpents, birds, and human forms abound. The study of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin in connection with their descent from a higher type will prove interesting especially to those inclined to the theory of the south-western origin of the mound-building nation." In reference to this we would say that the burials do not indicate difference enough between the effigy builders and the later Indians, to warrant any such conclusion. The theory was advanced at an early day that the Aztecs went from this region to Mexico, but this has been rejected. All that we can say is, that the effigy builders were very much like the later Indians, but built the effigies for their clan emblems, and as a general thing buried their dead without relics.

We have dwelt upon the subject of burials for the reason that they not only show a succession of races but prove that the effigy builders were the earliest of all.

The burials were not uniform; some of them were in a sitting posture, some of them recumbent, and some were bone burials. The modern or later tribes of mound builders seem to have practiced single burials with the body in a sitting posture, but the earlier tribes buried a number of bodies together, and mainly in a recumbent posture. The effigy builders seem to have practiced bone burial occasionally, but were not confined to it. Where they buried in an effigy, or with an effigy over the place, we may suppose they made the effigy to correspond with the clan emblem of the region. These are the conclusions we have drawn from such facts as have come to hand. A succession of races has followed one another here, but only one of them built effigies.

II. We come next to the subject of the differences in the races or tribes. The question is, were the effigy builders in any way different from the people who succeeded them. This is not to be confounded with another question which has been broached by Dr. Cyrus Thomas: "Were the mound builders Indians?" In the succession of races all may have been Indians, but the difference in the Indians is the point of inquiry. The answer to the question

†See Proceedings Amer. Antiq. Soc., Oct. 22, 1883, Vol. III., Part I, p. 4.

will be found mainly in the study of the relics and remains, and especially of the skeletons and skulls.

We turn then to the study of the relics with a view of ascertaining who the effigy builders were. It should be said, however, that there are few implements which can be identified as having belonged to the effigy builders, as relics are not often found in the effigies. Dr. Lapham explains this by saying that they had very different ideas of the nature of the soul from the later Indians, but our explanation is that the effigy builders practiced bone burial. If they did it is not likely that they would deposit implements in the grave with their dead. They first placed the bodies upon platforms or in houses and afterwards buried the bones with great ceremony. There are relics, however, which can be identified as belonging to this people, and to these we call attention.

1. The skulls and skeletons of the effigy builders are worthy of notice. Descriptions have often been given. We call attention to two which are

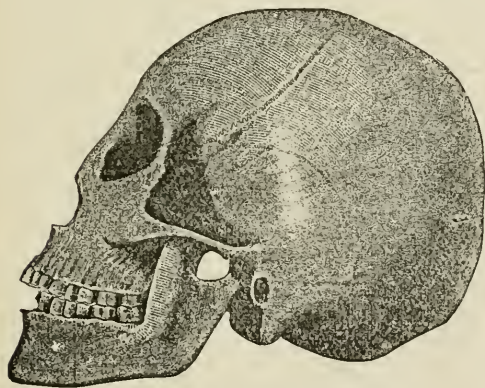


Fig. 152.—SKULL OF AN EFFIGY BUILDER.

exceedingly suggestive, namely, the skull found by Mr. W. P. Clark at Indian Ford, and the one exhumed by Dr. J. P. Hoy at Racine. We give a figure of the first. [See Fig. 152.] The figure of the second can be found in Dr. Lapham's book.* *a.* It is a noticeable fact that both of these skulls came from mounds which had evidently been erected by the effigy builders, and from the lowest depth in the mound. There were, to be sure, in both cases, conical mounds which belonged to the later races, but the impression formed by the gentlemen who discovered these skulls, was that they were digging into an original mound builder's grave, and that they had come upon a genuine mound builder. Dr. Hoy's description is as follows:† "The works situated on the bluff consists of 3 lizards, 1 oblong, 6 conical tumuli and 3 enclosures. I opened one of the lizards but found nothing. We excavated 14 of the mounds, most of them contained more than one skeleton, and in one instance we found seven. The primitive crania were crushed and flattened. In two instances I succeeded in restoring the fragments to their original shape; one of them is represented.

*See *Antiquities of Wis.*, Pl. LIII.

†See *Antiquities of Wis.*, p. 10.

In regard to the works at Racine we should say that there were two races who had buried here, one making their burial place where the cemetery is at present; the other on the isolated bluff north and east of the river. Dr. Hoy took the skull from the group in the latter place and we should judge from this circumstance that it was the skull of an effigy builder, effigies being common in the group. See Fig. 153.

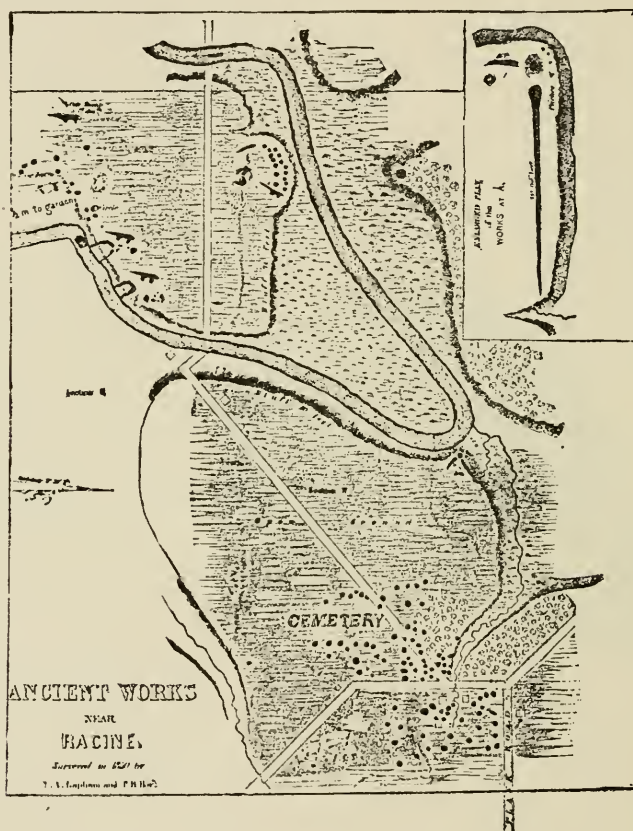


Fig. 153.

He says "On the mound from which I obtained the pottery, there was a burr oak stump which contained 250 rings, and the tree was cut ten years since, when the land was first occupied. Near this I excavated another mound on the center of which were the remains of a large stump which must have been much older. Immediately under the center of this stump I obtained the cranium before mentioned. A stump on the long mound has 310 rings; and near by are the remains of a large tree, and an oak stump five feet in diameter. These facts indicate an antiquity of at least a thousand years."

b. In comparing the two skulls, the one exhumed from the mound at Indian Ford, with the one at Racine, the impression is gained that they both belong to the same race and were both the mound builder type. This is the impression formed by Mr. Clark. He has given the dimensions and measurements of the skull as compared with that of a probable Indian of a later tribe. The facial angle of this is 75° and the other 85° . The length of the occipito-frontal arch is 14 inches and the other 15.30 in. Both skulls are very remarkable in their appearance. This description of the skull and its surroundings is instructive. *c.* Dr. Hoy makes a good point in reference to the mounds in the cemetery. He says, "the mounds with unusually steep sides are of recent origin, time not having leveled them down as much as those of greater antiquity." The same is true of mounds which were excavated at Lake Koshkonong. Those which were used for modern relicburials have very steep sides; and those which have been taken to belong to the original mound builders are much flatter. *d.* Another point is also worthy of notice. As a general thing the skeletons and skulls are much older in their appearance when found in the effigies than when found in the small conical mounds. Such was the case here. *e.* Dr. J. W. De Hart makes a point in connection with the skeletons which he exhumed at Madison. He says that they presented two features peculiar to a low order of people; the perforation of the humerus and the flattening of the shin bones; peculiarities which belong to the animals such as the anthropoid apes. His conclusion, however, we do not accept. The perforation of the humerus may be found to exist in the chimpanzee and ape, but it does not prove that the mound builders were of a low grade. The platycnemic feature is found among all the hunting races. All that can be proven from this fact is that the effigy builders were hunters. On this point we should disagree with Dr. De Hart and say that though the races are different, yet there is no evidence of inferiority in the effigy builders.

2. We turn next to the relics and remains found in mounds as compared with effigies. We have maintained that the round mounds were erected by a later race and we are to examine the relics to prove this. One proof is that these contain relics but the effigies do not. Another is that the skeletons and skulls are much better preserved. Still another is that in these mounds occasionally modern implements are found. We have already gone over the different localities where such mounds have been excavated and where relics have been discovered.

The typical relic or implement of Wisconsin is the stone axe with a long blade and a deep groove. There are many such axes found in the state, some of them showing signs of long use. The banner stones and maces, and mound builder's pipes may be typical in Ohio, but these are typical relics in Wisconsin. [See Figs. 154 and 155.]

In reference to all the relics, it may be said that there are many evidences of aboriginal trade. Nests of leaf-shaped implements from the Falls of the Ohio and from Flint Ridge near Newark, have been found in the state. Obsidian cores or blocks which probably had been brought from the Rocky Mountains, have been exhumed from the mounds. Pieces of mica from the mines

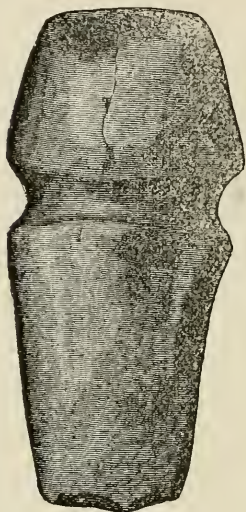
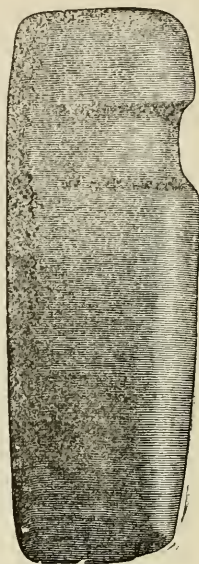


Fig. 154.



[Fig. 155.]

in South Carolina and sea-shells from the Gulf of Mexico have also been seen. Some of these may have belonged to the effigy builders, though they are, as we have said, very seldom found in the effigies.

3. We next take up the copper relics of Wisconsin and examine them with the view of ascertaining whether they were the products of the effigy builders or were left by the later races. This is an important point, for it helps to determine the social status of the effigy builders. These two have generally been associated. The effigies and copper relics are the distinguishing peculiarities of the State, but the question is whether they are to be associated.

The archaeology of Wisconsin differs from that in other states, in that the copper implements are so abundant. It is probable that no State in the Union has yielded more copper tools than this. There are large collections in the cabinets of the Historical Society at Madison and of the Academy of Science at Milwaukee. These collections have been mainly made by Mr. F. S. Perkins. He claims that he has never found a copper relic in an effigy mound, though many have been found in the immediate neighbor-

hood. A large majority have been plowed up in the field, some of them from a very considerable depth. They are made, he thinks, from the copper nuggets which are found in the drift and from the copper taken out from the mines in Lake Superior. The relics sold by Mr. Perkins do not determine the point.

The connection between the copper relics and the effigies seems to be quite uncertain. We have learned of one copper knife having been taken out of a mound at Koshkonong. The mound, however, was one of a group which we have considered modern. All in the group are conical tumuli with steep sides and contain recent burials. A mound at Prairie du Chien was excavated by Messrs. Hall & Derby, and yielded obsidian cores, an oil stone scalping knife, a very beautiful spear-head, and several large copper beads, or rather wooden beads covered with copper.

The exploring party under the Bureau of Ethnology, excavated a group two miles south of the city of Prairie du Chien, called the Flucke group; the group previously excavated by Hall & Derby. In this group, obsidian spear heads, copper beads, two spool-shaped copper ornaments, a copper bracelet, and a close coiled wire were found, the wire and bracelet supposed to be an intrusive burial. The Vilas group, which we have before described as belonging to the effigy builders, was also excavated but no relics were discovered. The writer says: "the bodies had been removed for a general burial at some other place."

These relics we have spoken of as being older than many others, but as probably not belonging to the effigy builders. This uncertainty in reference to the copper relics having belonged to the effigy builders is increased by the fact that copper relics have been found in cliffs many miles distant from any groups of effigies. The line which bounds the habitat of the effigy builders, is found somewhere in the neighborhood of the Fox River. Nearly all the mounds north of this river are conical tumuli and not effigies. Copper relics have been found near New London 40 miles south of this river, and near Embarass 30 miles still farther north. These finds are interesting for they show that the later Indians were in the habit of using and hiding copper implements. The find at New London was that of a nest of copper tools hidden away in a ledge of rocks. The rocks were of lime stone and there were crevices in the ledge which formed pockets; the nest was in one of these pockets. The find at Embarass was different. Here the nest was deposited in the sand in the midst of some pine barrens. The nest consisted of three knives which seem to have been used and which have quite a modern appearance to them. The find was made by Mr. A. Willmarth, of Embarass, and the relics are still in his possession.

4. As to the connection of the effigy builders with the ancient mines, there is the same uncertainty. There are no effigies on the bank of Lake Superior. The nearest effigy is at Wausau on

the Wisconsin River or Trempeleau on the Mississippi River, a distance from the south shore of Lake Superior of at least 60 miles. It would seem from this circumstance that the region about Lake Superior had been from time immemorial occupied in about the same way as since the historic period. The Ottawas and the Chippewas are known to have held this region for a long time and though the Illinois, Kickapoos, Miamis, were permitted to make temporary villages on the banks, and establish trade with the French who at an early time resorted there, yet the region was held by the original people. The Sioux undertook to drive them away but were not able to get possession. For a long time the region was the battle ground between the two great races, the Dakotas and the Algonquins. The Algonquins held it. They told Champlain that there were mines on the banks of the lake and he located mines on his first map but placed them near Green Bay instead of on the bank of Lake Superior, owing to his want of acquaintance with the geography of the region. The discovery of the mines did not occur, however, until 1848. At the time of the discovery wooden bowls for bailing water, wooden shovels for throwing out the debris, wooden levels and props for raising and supporting the mass of copper, and wooden ladders for ascending and descending the pits were found. These would indicate that a civilized race once worked the mines. It is not at all certain but that the French left the relics discovered there. Mr. J.W. Foster speaks of the high antiquity of the mine and says the trenches and pits were filled even with the surrounding surface; that fine washed clay enveloping half decayed leaves and the bones of quadrupeds such as the bear and deer, indicated the slow accumulation of years rather than a deposit resulting from a torrent of water; and that upon the piles of rubbish were found trees growing which differed in no degree in size and character from those growing in the adjacent forest. He mentions the fact, however, that Mr. S. O. Knapp, who first discovered the ancient mines, found a place where the miners had left a portion of the vein stone to prop the hanging wall. He found also an artificial depression 26 feet deep filled with clay and a matted mass of vegetable mould. At a depth of 18 feet he came to a mass of native copper, 10 feet long, 3 feet wide, and nearly 2 feet thick, weighing over 6 tons. It was found to rest on billets of oak, supported by sleepers of the same material. The ancient miners had evidently raised it about 5 feet and then abandoned the work. The wood was nearly decomposed, but the earth was so firmly packed about it, as to support the mass of copper. Other mines have been discovered. At one place a series of pits, some of which were 14 feet deep, and in one of the pits a wooden bowl. A large number of ancient hammers have been taken out from the mines. Mr. Foster says they would exceed ten cart loads. Charcoal was found lying on the surface of the rock showing that fire had been used. The conclusion of Mr. Fos-

ter is that the Mound Builders and the copper mines must be connected. The copper found in the mounds all the way from Wisconsin to the Gulf Coast, and the number of relics, is too great to suppose that they were all derived from the boulder drift. Their wide distribution is evidence of an extensive commerce. This, however, does not prove that the effigy builders were the miners. The connection between the ancient mines and the mounds to the east and to the west is as direct as that between the mines and the effigies of the south. There is a water communication by way of Lake Superior with all the lakes to the east. And the portages from Lake Superior to the rivers which flow to the west, are not so long as to those which flow to the south. On the supposition that the Winnebagoes erected the effigy mounds we should expect few copper relics to be found in them. They were a branch of the Dakotas or Sioux and the Sioux seem to have been excluded from the mines. The Algonquins seem to have had access to the mines but the Dakotas were excluded. It is a noticeable fact that copper relics are much more numerous on the east side of the Mississippi River Algonquin territory as it was, than on the west side in the Dakota country.

As the matter stands at present, we should say that the copper relics of Wisconsin were left by Algonquin tribes, and the majority of them belong to a later period than the effigies. For the same reason, we should ascribe the ancient mining to the Algonquins. We leave, however, the question open for further light.

III. We now come to an important point, the age of the emblematic mound builders. We have spoken of the different periods and of the different races. We are now to ask, to what time shall we ascribe the effigies. In a general way we are ready to make the answer that they are the earliest monuments of the State though we do not undertake to say how early they were. We propose to go over the evidences as to their age and to take up the various points to prove that they were antecedent to other works but subsequent to the period of the extinct animals.

1. The study of the topography shows that the effigies were built after the land had received its general features. The same distribution of forest and prairie; the same or a similar level of the soil; the same or a similar depth to the streams and lakes and the same natural products as existed when the Continent was discovered and the region explored by the white man. There could have been no great change in the forest for the same trees were growing upon the effigies as are indigenous to the soil. Nor could there have been a very marked change in the fauna for the animals imitated are those which were formerly abundant here. Not a single extinct animal has been found with the exception of the much disputed elephant or mastodon effigy. Not a single modern animal like the horse, cow, or sheep, has been found in

effigy. Everything indicates an indigenous forest and an indigenous fauna.

2. The study of village sites brings us to the same conclusion. The history of the State is not old, and yet the date of exploration goes back to as early a period as any part of the West. The opinion is probably well founded that the effigies were built long before the time of this exploration. The description of the villages would indicate this. There were many villages scattered along the water courses, some of which were described by the Jesuit Missionaries and the other explorers. It is very remarkable that these villages were situated in the same localities where effigies have been since discovered. The study of the mounds and effigies has, however, failed to show any connection between the early villages and the effigies. a. The mounds and relics which have been discovered on the village sites are of a different class and show that they were built by a different people. b. The location is different. They are nearer the water on lower ground and are not so massive or so extensive. It is generally supposed that the corn hills and conical tumuli which are found near these various historic points belong to the tribes who were there at the time of the early explorations, but that the effigies preceded them. We have examined the different prehistoric works at Marquette where it is supposed was the village of the Mascoutens which the early explorer and Jesuit Father Marquette visited; and where the Jesuit Allouez established the mission of St. James. We there followed a line of mounds which extended along the ridge which bounds the lake on the south side, for two or three miles, and found many remarkable effigies consisting of massive bears, foxes, and other animals and many long and conical mounds.*

c. They are remote from the village and probably had no connection with the conical tumuli which were formerly numerous on the village site. d. Another reason for supposing these effigies to have been erected before the time of the exploration, is that the tribes then occupying the land were only temporary fugitives from the Iroquois, so temporary that the mission was soon abandoned. There were also several tribes, and on the supposition that they were effigy builders we would expect a variety of clan emblems. This region, however, was occupied by only one clan or at least presents only one general clan totem, the squirrel, the same totem that prevails at Green Lake. The same is true of other localities. Sauk City was a place where the Sacs and Foxes had a village. Jonathan Carver found them here, in 1780. There are at corn hills here. These can be seen from the depot and cover quite an area of ground. There are groups of effigies in the neighborhood, a large wild goose on the bluff on the east side of the river; a series of long mounds and effigies surrounding a low place or swail as

*Secs. 22 and 27, T. 15, R. 12. Another group consisting of a deer and two bears may be found near the bridge on Sec. 10 and 15, T. 15, R. 12. Also on the Sugar Loaf, Sec. 35, T. 16, R. 12.

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if it were a corral for herding animals or a place for watching wild animals as they grazed. This is a mile and a half west of the village. In the same neighborhood but several miles farther west is the extensive group of effigies which has been described by Dr. Lapham situated on Honey Creek.*

e. There are many places where history has located Indian villages, and near which effigies have been discovered. The author has examined various early maps in which the Indian villages are laid down and especially Farmer's Map, and has visited the different localities to identify the villages which are known to have existed and the correspondence with these of the groups of effigies. The following are the places where villages and effigies have been examined: on the Rock River, at Lake Koshkonong, at Madison on the Four Lakes, at Fox Lake, at Horicon, at Lake Winnebago, at Manitowoc, and Milwaukee.

f. The situation of the effigies have proven to be quite different from that of the villages. Some of the villages are on one side of the lake and the effigies on another side, and even when on the same side somewhat remote. At Fox Lake it was found that the villages were on the north side but the effigies on the south. At Geneva, the village of Big Foot, was at the west end of the lake, while the effigies were upon the other end. At Madison the village was on the west side of Lake Mendota, and the effigies on the north and south sides. At Lake Winnebago the effigies were upon the east and southeast of the lake but the villages were upon the west and north side and upon the island between the two rivers on the east side. The same is true of other places. There is a correspondence in a general way between the maps of the effigies and the villages, but it is only general. At most of the places, the totems of the later tribes can be distinguished from those of the earlier people. This is another proof of the greater antiquity of the effigies.

3. The study of the tokens confirms the position taken. The successive periods of occupation are shown by the relics and the earth works but in many places the relics are very modern. One of the best places to study history in Archæology is at Lake Koshkonong. Here we have at least five different periods of occupation, all of them marked on the ground. 1st. The period of the effigy builders. 2nd. The period of the mound builders who did not build effigies. 3rd. The period of Indian villages, Winnebagoes and Foxes. 4th. The period of the trader and blacksmith. 5th. The period of the General and his invading army.

It is interesting to go over the ground and trace out the tokens of the different periods. Some of these have disappeared but the early inhabitants have them in mind and furnish information about them. The map of this lake should furnish not only the route

*See Lapham's *Antiquities of Wis.* Pl. XLIV.

of the railroad and the lines of the surveys, sectional lines, but should furnish the route which General Atkinson took while following Black Hawk. This should be on the east side not very remote from the lake. In addition we should locate the Winnebago village which was on this side and the place of Black Hawk's encampment on Black Hawk's Island. We should locate also the Winnebago village and the Fox village on the west side. One on the north side on Mr. Rufus Bingham's land; the other south at Taylor's Point. We should locate the trading post with its cabin and old chimney and cellar which Mr. Bingham describes as in ruins when he first took up the land in 1839. We should also locate the trails; one running from this old cabin, across a group of effigies near by, toward Madison and the Four Lakes. This would be the historic map. For the prehistoric, we should locate the cornhills which cover about 40 acres of low ground near the old cabin including a group of burial mounds on the bank of a lake in front of the farm house. We should also embrace the caches and long mounds situated near the cornhills and above all should take in the large group of very ancient effigies situated on a hill back of the cornhills, north and west of the trader's cabin. There are four or five classes of remains on this one farm. The

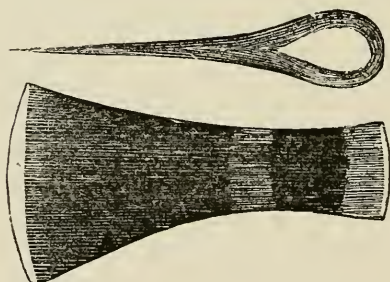


Fig. 156.—IRON AXES AT KOSHKONONG.

cabin, the corn hills, the trail, the caches, the burial mounds, the effigies all indicate different periods of occupation and yet all are situated near a modern Indian village. At Lee's Point, a mile further east, a large quantity of old brass and copper, fragments of kettles with iron rivets; old iron axes and hoes and other modern relics have been found. Mr. Lee has in his possession 27 axes and hoes. [See Fig. 156.] The hoes are made like the axes but with the sockets turned around so as to be at right angles. All of them are very rude and of American make.

There is a group of effigies on the west side of the lake, three miles south and west of Mr. Bingham's farm. [Fig. 157.] Among the effigies are two tortoises, two panthers, a battle ax, several long mounds and about 100 conical mounds. This group is on high ground and overlooks the lake in all directions. A group of effigies and long mounds may be seen on a ridge three miles north from Mr. Bingham's consisting of a line of long mounds and effigies. It is situated on a slightly spot overlooking the lake though distant from it at least two miles. The region around this lake furnishes conclusive proof that the effigies

were older than the Indian villages and were not built by the tribes who erected the tumuli and who dwelt here at the time that history began.

4. Another evidence of antiquity of the effigies is found in their weather-worn appearance. This is not always apparent, for

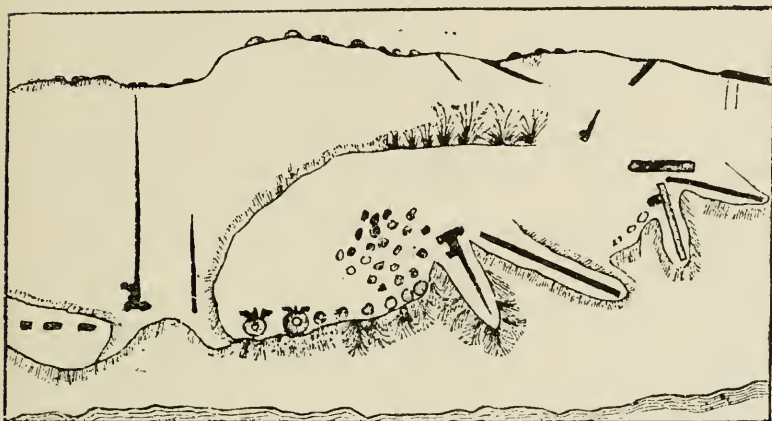


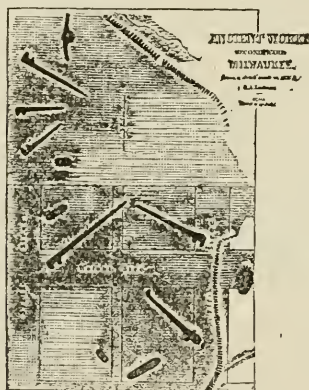
Fig. 157.—EFFIGIES AT LAKE KOSHKONONG.

there are effigies which are well preserved. These are however, generally found in the forests and in places where there would be very little wear from the elements. There is a difference in the effigies, some of them seem to be older than others, even conveying the impression at times that there were different periods among the effigy builders. Still the wear of the elements upon the effigies must have been much greater than upon the conical mounds, and more upon them than upon the corn hills, making the effigies appear as the oldest of all, showing that three different periods were occupied by these three different classes of works. A good illustration of this can be found at Mud Lake, ten miles north of Aztalan. The writer, in company with Mr. Terry of Lake Mills at one time visited this place. It is remote from settlements and is said to have been a favorite place with the Indians long after the rest of the country was deserted by them. There are two groups of mounds here, one on the south side of the Crawfish River composed of small conical mounds with a large number of corn hills surrounding them, the other on the north side of the river composed of large flat mounds surrounding an enclosure and a few effigies in the woods close by associated with them. The appearance of the conical mounds and corn hills indicated that they were very recent. They were very fresh, having no signs of being worn, but that of the other group was as if very old.

Some of the conical mounds were surrounded by rings looking as if they had been formed by persons dancing around the

mound and beating down the ground. This contrast between the appearance of the effigies and the corn hills, is much greater than that between the effigies and the garden beds. There is a series of garden beds near Sextonville in Richland Co., which has nearly disappeared. They are situated on a side hill which slopes to the west, and are nearly 300 ft. long. Within a mile of these, the writer discovered a large group of long mounds and conical mounds arranged as if there had been a battle field and a burying place for the dead after battle. Not far from this so-called battle-field are a number of effigies. The effigies and conical mounds in this case seem to be much better preserved than the garden beds. The writer has also discovered near Mayville a plat of garden beds, and surrounding the plat, an immense effigy of a serpent, the serpent being made from a natural ridge. Both presented evidences of age.

5. Another proof consists in the fact that the corn hills and garden beds, and in some cases the conical tumuli are placed on the top of the effigies showing that the later people had no regard for the sacred character of the totems which the earlier races had erected. Dr. Lapham has referred to this and



given several instances where it occurs. There is force in what he says. The effigies at Milwaukee are illustrations of the point. The effigies here are mainly of two kinds, the coon and panther, and were probably built as clan emblems. They were situated on all the high points and at the edges of the bluffs in various parts of the city. There were groups in the first ward near the corner of Johnson and Main streets; [See Fig. 158.] in the third ward between the fifth and sixth, at the fifth ward; [Compare also with Figs. 101, 134, 135.] In the eleventh ward near Bayview; on the Kinnikinnick and near Forest Home Cemetery. There were also intaglio effigies near the cemetery, and five excavated effigies, intaglio effigies as they are called, in one group at Indian Prairie, five miles north of the city. Corn fields and garden beds were found in two or three localities, but in each place extended over the effigies; in one case they had nearly obliterated the animal shape. It would seem from this that the effigy builders had previously occupied the region and had built the clan emblems on the hill top to show their right of possession, and had placed the prey gods in the shape of intaglio effigies as defences for their own fields, but that other races had come in after them and had ruthlessly covered these effigies

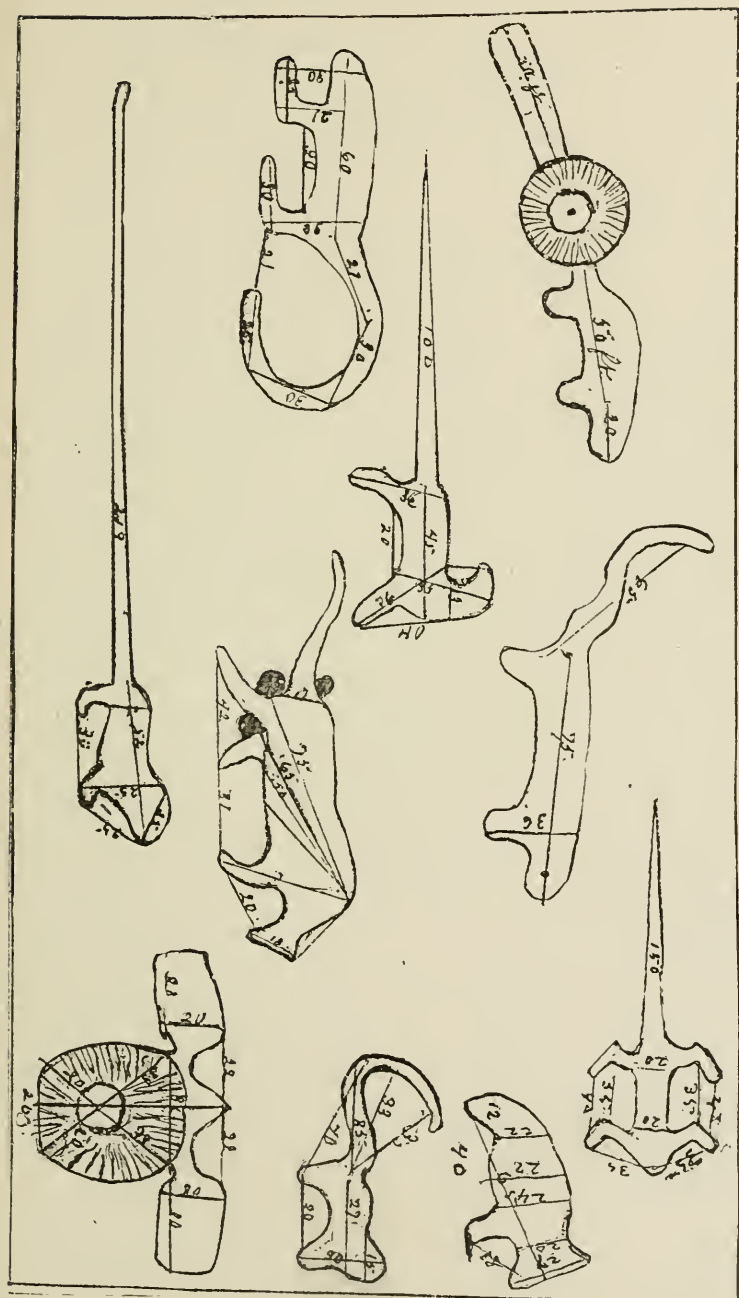


Fig. 159.

with their corn hills. Dr. Lapham refers to one case where the corn hills were built over the effigies and where a recent grave of an Indian had been placed on the summit of an effigy. We have discovered effigies with conical mounds built upon them; the mound evidently having been placed there since the effigy was erected. One such case was found near Belmont, west of Platteville. There are also many other cases of the same kind in the state.

6. The last evidence of the antiquity of the effigy builders is found in the fact that no effigy of modern animals has been found in them. They are in the shape of animals which formerly existed here; bears, buffalo, squirrels, foxes, beavers, panthers, turtles.

An illustration of this fact is given in the cut which represents the animals which have been discovered by the author and plotted as new specimens never before described. These effigies were found in different parts of the state. The buffalo and lizard near Beloit. The tortoise on the west side of Lake Koshkonong. The smaller squirrel near Mayville. The panther or cougar and the beaver in a group near Belmond. The latter is the effigy which is referred to above as having an intruded burial upon it. The buffalo represented in the attitude of attack as if guarding the caches or pits seen in the figure, was discovered near Lake Wingra. The larger squirrel was found near the Neponauk Club House on the north side of Lake Puckaway. See Fig. 159.

No extinct animal is represented by the effigies. The so-called elephant effigy would be regarded by some as an exception, and evidence has been presented by it to prove the effigy builders to be contemporaneous with the mastodon, but there is so much uncertainty in relation to this mound that we have to reject it. We should say that the effigy builders were subsequent to the mastodon but preceded the advent of the white man. The animals which they represent are such as were common among the forests of the West; no modern animal is represented by them. In this respect they differ from the pipes. There are pipes which have modern animals upon them and give evidences of having been made after the advent of the white men. The moulded earthworks of Wisconsin resemble the pipes in that they have so many animal figures and represent the animals in many different attitudes, but they differ from the pipes in that they contain no foreign animal so far as we can discover and imitate nothing that was introduced by the white man. We place them all before the time of the discovery.

CHAPTER XI.

NATIVE MYTHS AND EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

WERE THERE MYTHS EMBODIED IN THE MOUNDS?

The question who built the effigy mounds has been discussed in a previous paper. We are now to take up the subject in a more specific manner, and to speak of the myths which were embodied in these mounds. The position which we have taken is, that the effigy mounds were clan totems, but as these totems are so similar among all the tribes it has been impossible to tell from these what tribe built the effigies. We therefore are to take up the effigies again, and to ask whether there were any myths embodied in them, and if so, whether they are myths which can be identified as belonging to any particular tribe. In this way we hope to bring the problem nearer to a solution even if we do not get the final answer. The customs, myths and superstitions of the native races may be recognized in the effigies, and yet the identification does not prove definite, but the embodiment of the myths of some particular tribe would make the matter so certain that most people would be satisfied with it. Our effort in this paper then will be to make the inquiry as definite and specific as possible.

Before beginning on the discussion of the question, we shall first enquire what tribes formerly existed on the ground where these effigies are found. We begin with history and go back to prehistoric times. There is one advantage furnished to us by the history of the state. The record of exploration goes back to a very early period. There is no state throughout the entire north-west which has an earlier record, not even Ohio, which has so recently celebrated its centennial. It is on this account that the Indian tribes of Wisconsin are so well known. We have only to refer to the reports of the explorers Marquette, Allouez, Joliet and others, and to study the history of explorations since their advent to ascertain exactly what Indian tribes formerly existed here.

Let us go over in a brief way the history of the Indians and ask from this what tribe was here the earliest and what had the most permanent stay. We know the names of the tribes which were here between the dates of the first discovery and the first settlement, 1680 to 1820 and their location. The division of the territory during that time was as follows: The Pottowatomies were located along the lake shore, from the state line to the south shore of Green Bay; the Menominees on the north

shore of Green Bay and on either side of the river which bears their name; the Sacs and Foxes were on the Fox river from its mouth to its source, and were passing over to the Wisconsin on their migratory route to the Mississippi river and to the mouth of the Des Moines river; the Winnebagoes occupied the south part of the state, including the whole valley of the Rock river and both sides of the Wisconsin river; the Chippewas and Ottawas were living in the north part of the state. They claimed the whole region around Lake Superior and disputed territory west of the lake with the Dakotas. Besides these there were a few tribes which had a temporary sojourn, as the Hurons, on the headwaters of the Chippewa, and the Mascoutens, a branch of the Kickapoo tribe or Illinois Indians, on the south shore of the Fox river near Lake Puckaway and Green Lake. There was also a portion of the country which seemed to be direct. It was that portion which is now occupied by lumber camps situated on the watershed between the rivers which flow into Lake Superior and those which flow south.

This history is very significant. We have already said that there were traces of different periods of occupation. We learn from this what tribes occupied the soil. The location of villages, of trading posts and of Indian camps have been ascertained by the relics and by the mounds, and in some cases the identification of villages known to history has taken place. This work has not been carried out as far as it should, and yet there are places on the Fox river, Wisconsin river, the Rock river, and near the various lakes, such as Lake Koshkonong, Geneva lake, the Four Lakes, where tradition, history, archæology, ethnology and mythology all conspire to make the record which is left upon the soil a very expressive one.

We take as an illustration a particular locality, viz., the region about Lake Koshkonong. Here there are tokens of five periods of occupation, as follows: See map of Koshkonong.

1. The marks of wagon wheels, the broken wheels of the carriages for cannon, the tame grass and spears of oats growing amid the forests, and the marks of horses' hoofs, tokens of the military route which Gen. Atkinson took during the Black Hawk war.

2. Corn fields, cabins of traders, remains of brass kettles, iron axes, tokens of the days of the traders.

3. Next, fire beds, shell heaps, the debris of camps and Indian graves, tokens of the temporary sojourn of the later tribes.

4. Mounds containing bones which have a fresh look, copper knives and other relics, tokens of the tribes preceding history. Other larger mounds, containing older relics, also tokens of a tribe preceding these.

5. Effigies, burial mounds, game drives and other tokens illustrate another and earlier period.

This is the history of one locality. There are many other places where the same record is written upon the soil. Diligent investigation may be necessary to bring out the record, and yet each of the localities which we have mentioned above has a similar history. The garrisons of the white man, the cabins of the trader, the sacristy of the missionary, the relics of the different tribes which have dwelt here since the discovery, and the mounds, and the relics which were left by the tribes which preceded history, these are to be studied with a view of ascertaining the history. But back of these is the period of the effigy builders. The question is not whether these tribes can be identified by the tokens, and whether in the different localities we can recognize the presence of the tribes, but it is whether any one tribe can be selected as the probable builders of the effigies.

The writer has been able to identify certain villages of certain tribes, but mainly those of the later occupation. The earlier period is now before us for our examination and we are to study the mythology of the different tribes for light on the subject. It has been easy for the writer to fix upon the villages of the Sacs and Foxes and several of them have been identified, one of them at Buttes des Morts, one at Wauzeka and one at Lake Koshkonong. The villages of the Pottowottamies have been identified at Milwaukee, Waukesha, Big Foot or Geneva Lake and at Mud Lake. At the latter place the writer discovered corn hills, dance circles and other tokens, all of which were so fresh that it was not difficult to imagine that foot prints were still to be seen. The sites of several Winnebago villages have also been determined. These in nearer the effigies than any other villages.

This and other circumstances have rendered it probable that the Winnebagoes were the effigy builders. There are several things that favor this supposition. In the first place the Winnebagoes, according to history and the early maps, were scattered over the very territory where the effigies are found, but all other tribes only occupied a portion of the territory. Their habitat extended from Green Bay to the mouth of the Wisconsin river, and from the Fox river on the north to the Kishwaukee on the south, and it seems probable that they once occupied the whole country in which the effigy mounds are situated. In the second place, the Winnebagoes were a branch of the Dakotas, and had customs and superstitions similar to them. The Dakotas were sworn enemies to the Chippewas and Ottawas. There was always a direlict country between them. It is very remarkable that there are no effigy mounds in this region. The point farthest north at which effigies have been discovered is near Wausau, on the Wisconsin river, and at Trempeleau, near the Chippewa river. A third thing in their favor is that the Dakotas have a tradition among

them that their ancestors came from Ohio and the belief of the missionaries among the Dakotas is that the mounds of Ohio were built by them. The fourth evidence is the one which brings up the question of myths. There are effigies in Wisconsin, in Dakota, in Ohio, which have such striking resemblances to one another that we are tempted to think that they were built by the same people. These effigies will be spoken of hereafter. A fifth point is worthy of notice. The Tuteloes, a branch of the Dakotas, are known to have left the main stock at an early date in their migrations from the east and pass down to the east side of the Alleghany mountains, and finally fix themselves in northeastern Georgia, the very place where the celebrated bird effigies built of stone have been discovered. These five points of testimony have led us to take the myths, traditions and customs of the Winnebagoes and Dakotas for our comparison, rather than those of any other tribe.

We are to study the effigies and see if we can discover in them the customs, myths and superstitions of any known people. Our comparison will be between Indian myths and effigy mounds, but especially the myths of the Winnebagoes and the effigies of Wisconsin.

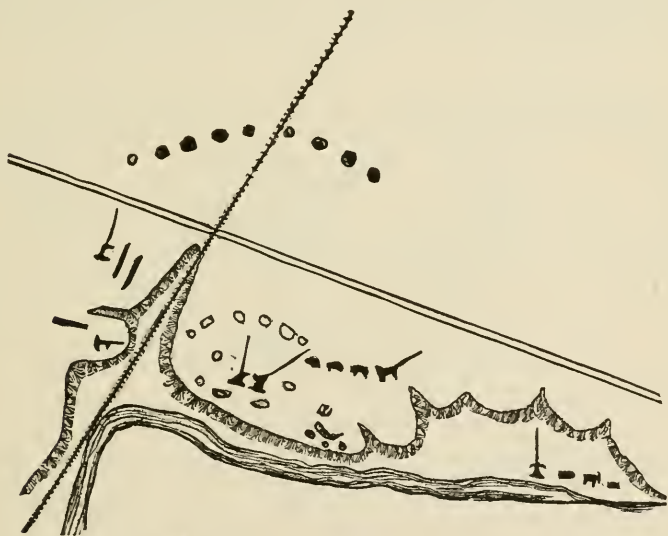
Our position is this, that if the effigies were built by any known tribe, they were in all probability built by the Winnebago Indians and yet we are not all certain that they can be identified with this tribe, and only take it up as a tentative theory. Before beginning the discussion, we shall take the occasion to protest against any presumption in the case. We have in the past contended against the recent origin of the effigies and have protested against confounding the relics found in other mounds with those found in the effigies, and so we do again in the present paper. We contend for neither a very great antiquity nor a very high civilization, yet we contend against a too recent date and a too certain confounding of the ancient with modern tribes.

I. We first take up the totem system. Our first inquiry is whether there were any clan emblems among the Winnebagoes which can be identified in the effigies. In answer to this we are to say that the clan emblems of all the northern tribes were so similar that it would be almost impossible to identify them in the effigies, and the only way we can do so is to take these in their localities and compare them with the locations of the villages and clans of this people as they are known to history. On this point there are some interesting facts and coincidences.

1. In making out a map of the mounds we have found that there were ancient divisions indicating that the state was divided into clan habitats. We have also found that the ancient villages correspond closely to the present centers of population, the clans having made their homes at those points where modern popula-

tions have their cities, natural advantages for subsistence and the attractions of scenery having been inducements to the earlier and the later races. The Mound-builders were a rude people, and were not able to force nature out of her ordinary channels, but were obliged to conform themselves to the material conditions. The rivers were their channels of communication. Their villages were at the mouths of rivers or at the junction of larger and smaller streams or upon the banks of the beautiful lakes. In these respects, however, they did not differ from the early settlers, and we find the native and the white population very similar.

2. There are several places where villages of the effigy builders have been discovered. In all of these places the clan emblem has been recognized and in some of them the clan boundaries



*Fig. 160.—Turtles and Panthers in a Game Drive at Beloit,**

have been fixed. The method of identifying the clan name or emblem is a very simple one, for wherever effigies are situated we generally find one particular animal form prevailing above all the rest, the others being plainly subordinate to it. These effigies are always found in connection with the villages, look-outs, burial places, game-drives, and every other group. Frequently there would be lone effigies on some hill-top between the clan boundaries. There would sometimes be places or regions where effigies are strewn over the ground in thick profusion and then there will be spaces for several miles where no effigies

*The straight line in this cut represents the railroad and the wagon road from Beloit to Janesville. The group has nearly been destroyed. The location will be seen from the cut.

appear. These we consider to be the clan habitats, the village being in the center of the clan territory. It is easy to trace out the clan centers. The main difficulty is, however, in fixing the boundaries of the clans, for frequently the same emblem will be found at quite remote points and the clan habitat will seem to cover spaces which on the map will be as large as the present counties, and sometimes include two or three of them.

3. Another point is noticeable. The clan emblems are sometimes, especially upon the banks of the lakes, mingled together.

Occasionally there are groups of effigies at points quite remote from streams or lakes and it may be that clans moved from their prominent centers and made sugar camps or camps for hunters and there left their clan emblems upon the soil. This corresponds with the customs of the Dakotas. We learn from Francis Parkman and Miss Alice Fletcher that the Dakotas were accustomed to leave their villages and go considerable distances

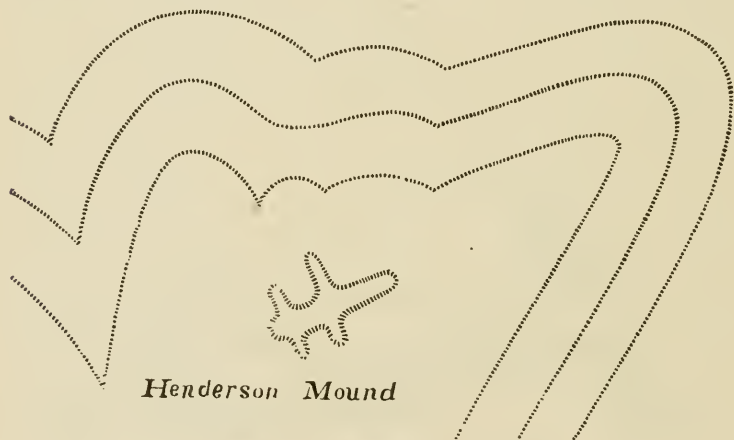


Fig. 161.—Turtle Mound near Beloit.

to hunt buffalo and other game, and so had two sets of villages or places of encampment, which constituted their winter home and their summer home. We learn also from other sources that Indians are accustomed to visit one another and make long stays. The members of different clans would thus be mingled together, and in later times even the fragments of different tribes would make their villages in close contact.

These points will be illustrated by specific cases. Take for instance the effigies formerly situated at Milwaukee. Here there were two villages, one at Indian Fields, near Forest Home Cemetery, the other at Indian Prairie, six miles north of the city.

These villages may have belonged to different clans, as the effigies found in the northern village correspond to others found near the headwaters of the Milwaukee river, while those in the southern village correspond with others found along the lake

shore at Racine and elsewhere. Still the fact that there were two villages, and the additional fact that effigies were formerly scattered all over the hills whereon the present city is built shows that this, the commercial metropolis of the state, was an important center for the effigy-builders. There is this difference between the modern and the ancient people. In modern times the hills have been graded down and the marshes and low grounds have been filled up; but in the ancient times the scene was left in its native wildness and the effigies were placed on the bluffs and hilltops, at points where they could command the best view of the lowlands, but where they could be reached from one river or another. The communications seem to have been by the rivers and not by the lakes, though the lake may have been occasionally navigated in canoes by the effigy-builders.

There were other centers of population among the effigy-builders besides this at Milwaukee, viz: at Racine, at Waukesha,

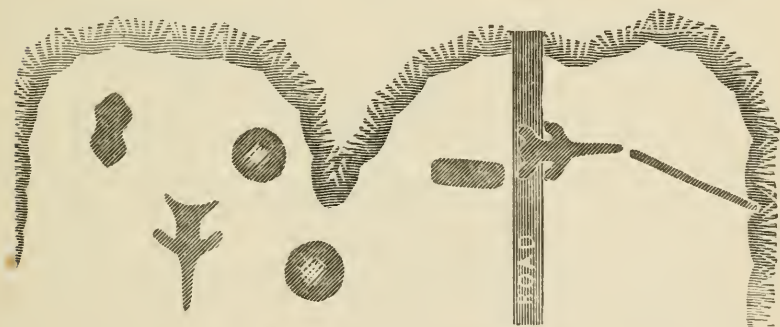


Fig. 162.—Turtle Effigy near the State Line.

at Big Bend, at Beloit, at Madison, at Baraboo, at Muscoda, at Prairie du Chien, at LaCrosse, at Trempeleau, at New Lisbon, at Montello, at Marquette, at Green Lake, at Fond du Lac, or near there, at West Bend, at Sheboygan, at Red Banks, near Green Bay, all of which places are at present regarded as important centers for modern population. The scenery at all of these points is still regarded as attractive and the lakes and rivers still furnish natural advantages for subsistence and for the purposes of modern society. What is more, the love of scenery is drawing to the region, in increasing numbers every year, those who, by reason of wealth, have leisure to spend their summers in the most attractive places; thus showing that the same natural tastes prevail now among the civilized that formerly prevailed among the uncivilized people.

As to the division of the native race of effigy-builders into clans, we find special evidence of this in the totem system. We have no doubt whatever that many of the effigies were clan emblems, and we think that we have identified the habitats of

many of the clans by them. The places where we have studied the effigies with the view of locating the clans are as follows: At Big Bend, at Beloit, at Muscoda or Eagle Township, at Prairie du Chien, at Baraboo and at Green Lake. In all of these places the clan emblem has been identified, and in most of them it has

been found associated with village sites, game drives, look-out stations, burial mounds, altars, garden-beds and dance-circles. The clan emblem at Beloit was the turtle. We have discovered the village site, the burial ground, the look-outs, the game-drives, and the turtle is the animal figure everywhere present. One game-drive has the buffalo along with the turtle, another has the panther with the turtle. See Fig. 160. There are occasionally bird effigies with the turtle, but this is the prevailing emblem everywhere.

It is seen on the bluff three miles north of the



Fig. 163.—Burial Effigies near Water-Works at Beloit served as a look-out. See Fig. 161. It is found again half a mile further north, and again a mile still further north, all three of these groups, probably, having been connected with the game-drive on the bottom-land below. Fig. 118 and map. It is found also on the state line east of the city (see Fig. 162), and at the head-gates half a mile north, and again on the bluff near

the old stone mill. Another group with the turtle is also to be seen a mile south of the city, on a knoll near the road to Rockton.

It is found near the water-works, where it marks the burial place of the clan. See Fig. 163. It was placed as a look-out on the bluff near the college campus, and may be supposed to guard the gate-way to the village which was situated on the campus; another turtle mound being at the foot of the bluff near the river

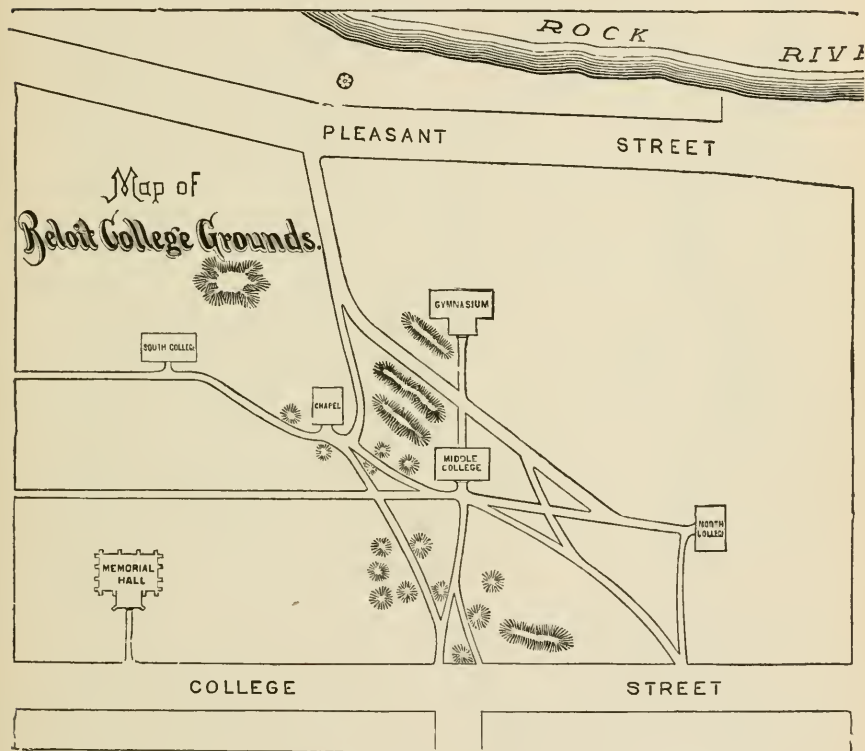


Fig. 164.—Mounds on the College Grounds.

bank, to protect the landing place at that point. See Fig. 164. Turtle mounds are found scattered along the bluffs to the east of the city, but here they probably mark the sites of cabins which were erected by the people. The turtle is seen in every group which has been found in this vicinity, and seems to have been the chief mound in each.

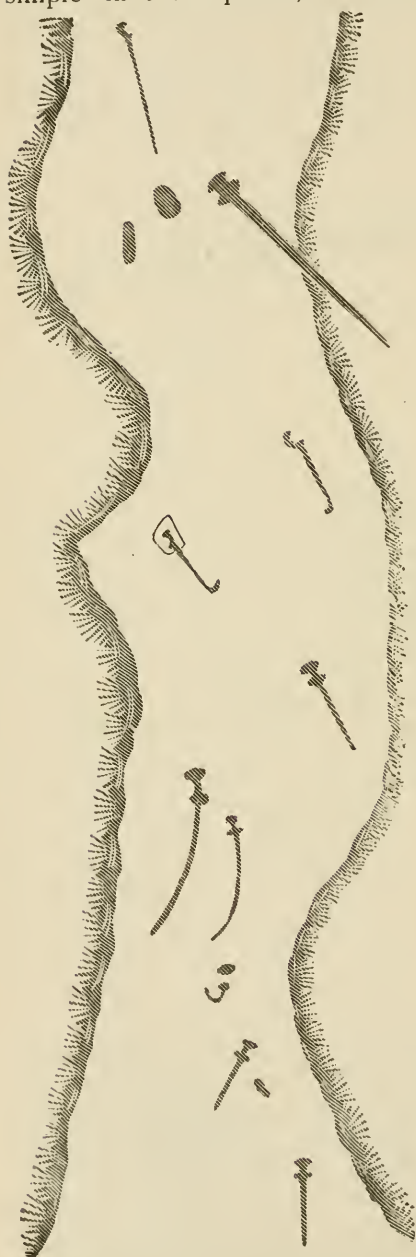
There are twelve groups and about 100 mounds in all, but of this number 21 are Turtle mounds. The groups are so placed that one answers to another from all the hill tops, but the turtle

mound is the observatory in all cases. The problem is very simple in these places, for the same effigy is so often repeated, and is so free from

the intrusion of totems belonging to other clans, that it is easy to trace the emblem in all groups and to determine the uses of the different groups.

There is, however, a point worthy of notice: We discover the same emblem repeated at other and remote localities; but this we have explained by the supposition that there were different gentes living in the state and that these gentes were divided into sub-gentes, some of which had the same clan emblem. We have found the turtle emblem at two different places; the one in the eastern part of the state near Pewaukee, Oconomowoc and Summit; and again in the southern and central part of the state near Beloit. In both places the turtle mound was so numerous and was so scattered over the region that we could not refrain from the belief that it was a clan emblem. The localities are at least seventy miles apart, and it seems probable that the turtles were the emblems of two different clans. See Fig. 165.

Fig. 165.—Turtle Effigies at Pewaukee.



prairies are so connected with one another as to show that the same clan had their abode in the entire region.

Another point, there are clans which seem to have wandered to considerable distances and to have placed their emblem at remote points. These points are, to be sure, connected by water-courses or trails, and yet the distances seem to bring in an additional factor to the problem. To illustrate: the eagle is the clan emblem in the region about Muscoda. We have found it here in a great number of groups and a great variety of attitudes, serving many different purposes. See Fig. 166.*

It was discovered associated with a deer in a deer-drive, as a look-out station connected with a probable altar mound called "the citadel," also extending along the banks of a stream, with the wings magnified so as to make it nearly a thousand feet in length; it was found also in the group which is represented in the cut, which possibly was a coral for game. The same eagle shape is, however, discovered at The Dells of the Wisconsin, some forty miles from Muscoda, and on the asylum grounds on the north side of Lake Mendota, some thirty miles southeast of the latter place. There is a resemblance between these emblems wherever they are found, and our explanation is that the same clan wandered from its own habitat and placed its emblem at distant points.

The squirrel emblem furnishes an illustration of this point.

The squirrel clan seems to have occupied the banks of three of the beautiful lakes—Lake Winnebago, Green Lake and Lake Puckaway. Within its bounds we have three or four cities—Fond du Lac, Ripon, Princeton—and several small villages, Marquette, Brandon and Markesan. We do not know that the Winnebagos ever had villages on any of the spots where the effigies are located, and yet this fact is plain: the squirrel was the clan emblem of the region.

We have discovered the site of a village with squirrels surrounding it on the east bank of Green Lake. On the west bank squirrel effigies are very numerous. They are situated on the summits of all the hilltops that surround that beautiful lake on every side. We found one day a very interesting squirrel effigy near the Neponauk Club House. This was on the north side of Lake Puckaway. We discovered also at Utley several squirrel effigies, but in the neighborhood were effigies of snakes, buffalos and wild geese.†

As to the mingling of the clan emblems, there are many illustrations of this. The lakes, and especially those where game abounds, seem to have been places of resort for the different clans. At several of these lakes we have discovered the emblems of the clans adjoining, and have been able to pick out the emblem which belonged to one clan and that which belonged

*See Figs. 58, 59, 63, 82, 83, 84 and 85, in previous papers; also map of works at Eagle Township; also map of Dane county.

†See Diagram VIII, also Fig. 159.

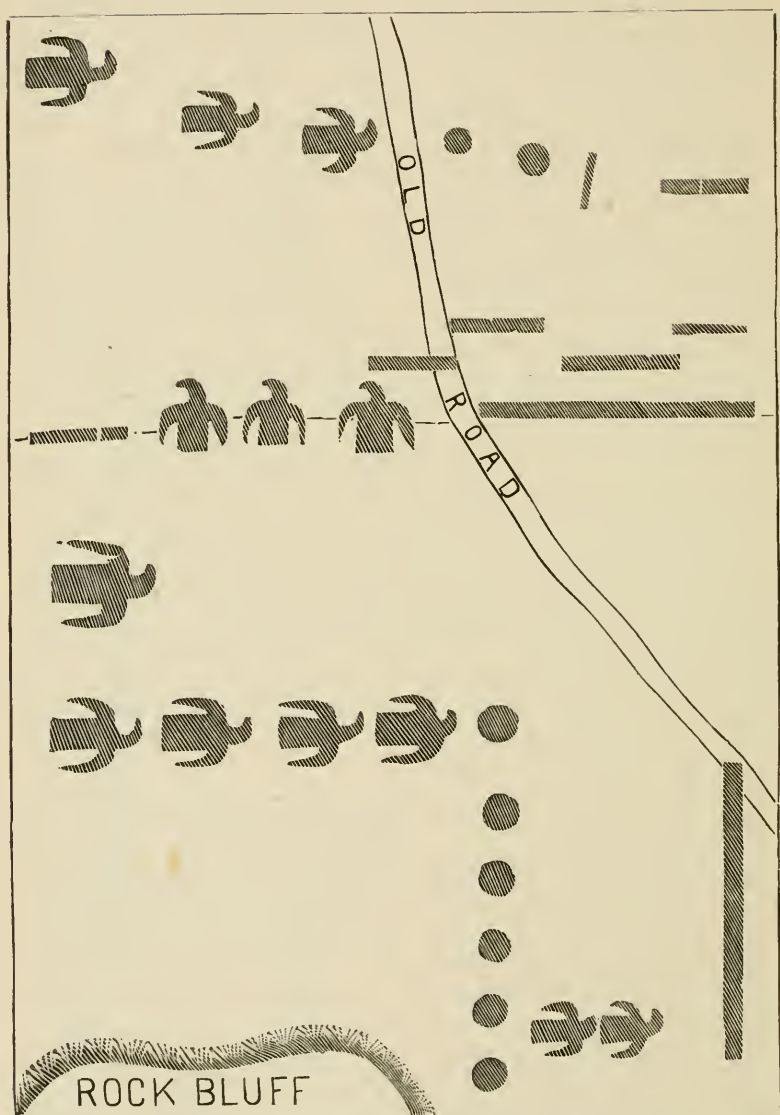


FIG. 166.—EAGLE EFFIGIES IN EAGLE TOWNSHIP.

to another, and to identify the clans which made their resort at these places. The following remarks will illustrate this point:

Lake Koshkonong is in the vicinity of Beloit and at the same time is on the river which flows from the Four Lakes. It also has a close connection with the region about Aztlan. At Lake Koshkonong there is a great diversity of forms. We imagine that several clans were in the habit of assembling here and spending their time in fishing. We have discovered the turtle, the panther, the eagle, the tortoise, the swallow or nighthawk, the lizard, the heron, the catfish and many other effigies. We conclude that more than one clan totem was embodied in these effigies.*

This same is true at the Four Lakes. Here there are many effigies. They are situated on both sides of Second Lake, on four sides of Lake Monona, on three sides of Lake Wingra, on four sides of Lake Mendota, and are as diverse and varied in form as they can well be. We have not been able to identify the clan which formerly dwelt here. It is probable that the same custom prevailed here which was spoken of at Lake Koshkonong. Several clans came together and spent their time in fishing, hunting, dancing and social visiting. The uses or objects of the different effigies in the neighborhood of Madison cannot all of them be ascertained, and yet we have found game drives, altar mounds, burial places, look outs and places of temporary

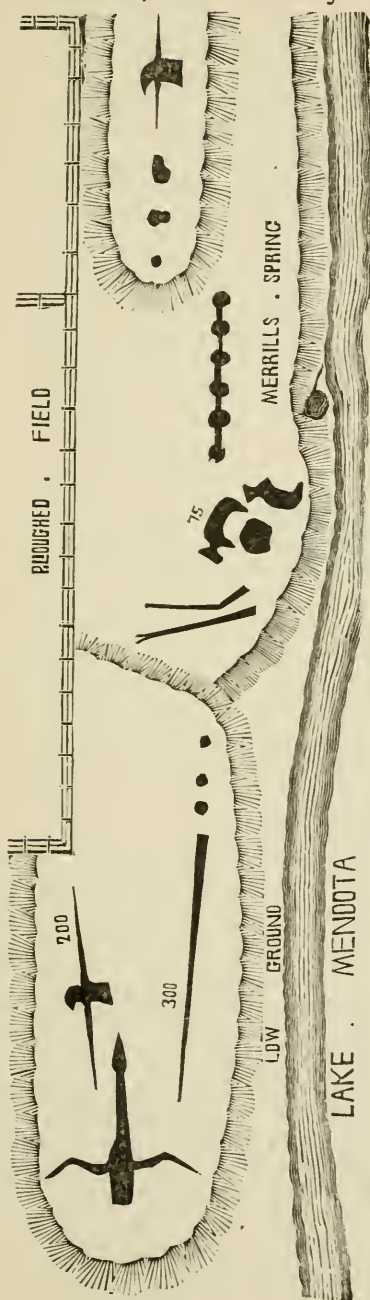


Fig. 167.—Group at Merrill's Springs.

*See Figs. 10, 15, Diagrams III, IV, Fig. 157, and the map of Lake Koshkonong.

encampment. Perhaps the locality where the effigies are the most numerous and at the same time where they are best preserved is on the north side of Lake Mendota, on the asylum grounds. Here there are figures of the panther, of the buffalo, eagle, the squirrel, the mink, fox and many other animals. There seems to have been a continuous line of mounds all along the north shore of the lake. The object of these effigies is unknown, and yet they are very interesting, as they contain a great variety of animal shapes. On the south shore of the same lake there were

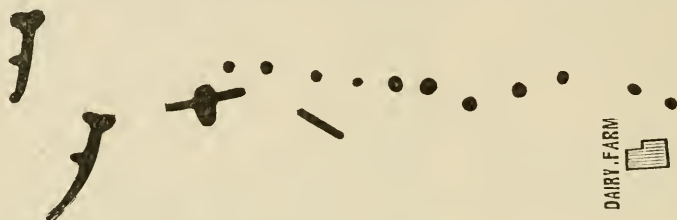


Fig. 168—Effigies near the Fair Grounds.

formerly many effigies; one where the capital now stands, several on the university grounds, two near Merrill's springs, and one at the stone quarry.

In the group at Merrill's springs, the wild goose appears and with it the eagle, and just at the springs two buffalo and an eagle effigy and a row of round mounds. See Fig. 167. At the stone quarry there is an effigy of a massive elk and an immense mink or weasel. On the observatory hill there is an eagle and a turtle, both of them look-out mounds, but on the



Fig. 169—Burial Mounds near Lake Wingra.

cemetery hill there is a line of effigies, and in the line a wild goose and two or three wolves or panthers. On the dairy farm, near the fair grounds, there were formerly several effigies (see Fig. 168,) and among them the panther. A group of round mounds is situated near Lake Wingra (see Fig. 169), but on the ground of the Charity School is a group in which are a panther, wild goose, eagle, rabbit, wild cat and lynx. On the bank of Lake Wingra, near Greenbush, is another group with a buffalo in a singular attitude, several indistinct mounds, a wild goose, fox

and man mound; on the effigy hill, near the soap factory, an eel, a snail or dragon, an altar mound, and a panther in front of the altar; on the Graham place,* near the assembly grounds, are two interesting panthers. There was formerly on the capital grounds an immense turtle or lizard, with head and tail stretched out in a straight line, and feet to either side. See Fig. 170. If we take the whole series and count them up we would have fifteen panthers, nine eagles, six wild geese, one elk, four buffalo. The panther is the most numerous. On the Second Lake, there are two groups; on one side we have discovered the beaver, the antelope and the wild goose; on the east side the badger, the hedge-hog or woodchuck and several long mounds.

Besides these is the very interesting mound in Mill's Woods, which represents the crane or heron with its wings spread. This is nearly obliterated, but was very symmetrical. See Fig. 171

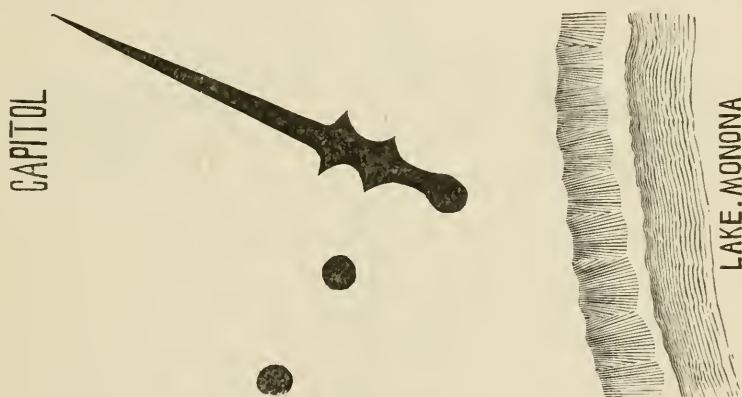


Fig. 170.—Effigy at the Capitol.

Our conclusion is that Madison was a sort of capital for the effigy builders; representatives of all the clans assembled here and made laws for those who stayed at home. To confirm this idea of it being a gathering place for different clans, we would say that we have discovered the habitat of the eagle clan at Eagle township, on the Wisconsin river. Here the eagle is almost the only effigy to be seen (see Fig. 166), but the bear effigy is very numerous on the ridge in the vicinity of the Blue Mounds, several groups of effigies being situated in the region which intervenes between Madison and the mounds. The location of the panther clan at Madison would be in accord with many of the facts. The point which we make in connection with the Winnebagoes is that there were formerly Winnebago villages in this

*For Madison and the Four Lake region see the following figures: 32, 33, mounds on east end of Lake Monona; Diagram V, west end of Lake Wabasha; Fig. 46, Effigies in Mill's Woods; Fig. 60, at Lake Winnebago; Figs. 71 and 72, Charity School; Fig. 77, Graham Place; Figs. 82 and 84, Asylum grounds; Fig. 85, Effigy Ridge.

vicinity, one of them being situated on the north side of Lake Mendota, another on the west side of Lake Waubesa, others east of Lake Monona and others on the trail between the four lakes and the old diggings or lead mines, all corresponding with the location of the effigies, and it is not improbable that these effigies are the emblems of the different clans of Winnebagoes who had their villages near by. The effigies here probably served the same purpose that painted figures and carved posts served in other tribes. The totems of other tribes were painted upon the tents or were carved into posts and placed near the doors of the houses or the graves of the dead, but here were built as great earth-heaps. They indicated the name and ancestry of the people. The effigies did the same thing, but in addi-

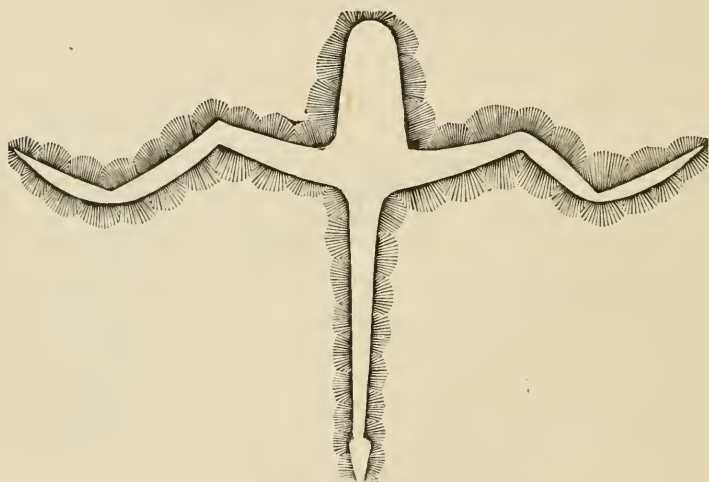


Fig. 171.—Crane or Heron at Mill's Woods.

tion they served a practical purpose. They were used as screens for hunters, as defensive walls for villages, as foundations for houses, as mounds for the burial of the dead, and at the same time were representations of the mythologic ideas of the people.

This point we think is clear: whatever the tribe was who built the effigies, that tribe evidently placed its totems or clan emblems on the soil.

II. This leads us to a second and more definite point: The superstitions about the animals which were hunted, which prevailed among hunters, and the embodiment of these superstitions in the effigies. We may learn these superstitions from the various authors. Charlevoix, the French traveler, speaking of certain Canada Indians, says: They address their vows to the manes of the beasts they have killed in their former huntings, and held a fast that they may have dreams about them. It is necessary that the greater part of those who are to go with the hunters

should see the animals in their dreams and see them in a certain fixed place. After that they are sure of success. A feast is then given in which the new invocations of the spirits of the animals are again offered. The feast is given to induce the spirits of the animals to reveal the place where the animals may be found. The feast is given because the place has been revealed.

From various authors we learn about the superstitions of the Indians in reference to dreams and the dependence of the Indians upon their dream gods. These things were to be found among other Indians beside those who were situated in Wisconsin, yet they were especially true of the Dakotas and therefore form one more link in the chain. There seems to have been a system of fetichism among all the tribes—the same system which now prevails among the Zunis—and we think this fetichism may be recognized in the effigies.

Charlevoix says of this that "the kind of hunting most in vogue is that of the buffalo, but the way of hunting the elk, deer and caribou has some resemblance to this. They surrounded a space of ground with posts interwoven with branches of trees, leaving a narrow opening where they place nets. This space is of a triangular form, but from the angle they form another. The two enclosures communicate with each other. The two sides of the second triangle are also enclosed with posts interwoven in the same manner. They then advance keeping the line entire, raising prodigious cries and striking something which resounds. The game thus roused can only fly into the enclosure, and even those that escape first find them enclosed in a space too narrow to be able to shun the arrows which are shot at them from all sides. Here then we have a description of the game-drives which are so common in Wisconsin, the only difference being that these were made of wood, while those of Wisconsin were made of earth, though probably wooden posts were placed upon them. Prof. Thomas says that his assistants discovered in certain long mounds in Crawford County, which we had previously declared was a game-drive; the remains of posts thus confirming our position. The point which we make, however, is in connection with the effigies. We have already said that the game-drives were formed out of long mounds arranged in parallel lines, but contained two classes of effigies, one the clan emblem and the other the emblem of the game which was sought for. It would seem that the dream gods—the same gods which among the Zunis are called the game gods and the prey gods, were embodied in the effigies and that these were associated with the clan emblems or totems in the game-drives. This was fetichistic. Sometimes there are three effigies or totems, the clan emblem, the game emblem and the emblems of the animals which prey upon the game. To illustrate, we have in the eagle clan, game-drives in which is the eagle, the elk and the fox or

wolf. In the mink clan we have the mink, the elk or deer and the panther. In the turtle clan we have the turtle, and the panther, and in the squirrel clan we have the squirrel, the deer and the bear chasing the deer. In the eagle clan we find in one place the deer effigy; in the same drive and near by the eagle effigy in another place, the fox or wolf as the prey god and the elk as the game god and the eagle as the clan totem. Everywhere we see this superstition embodied in the effigies.

At one point near Green Lake we have seen a deer running and two bears following, the picture of a very natural scene. The singular thing about these effigies is that a road is cut through the two bears lengthwise leaving only the head and back on one side and the legs on the other. Yet the intent of the picture is manifest in the effigies. At New Lisbon there is a panther and two coons or animals with bushy tails, all of them apparently running together, making a very interesting game-drive. On the Nichols place near Catfish Bridge, we have the panther as the prey god and the hunter or man accompanying the panther, but no deer or elk or other game totem. Fig. 172.

This game-drive is peculiarly located. It is wedged in between Second Lake and Third Lake, and is so arranged that the game could be driven down from the prairies to the east, across this fording place to the wooded hills and prairies west of the lakes. It will be noticed that there are walls or long mounds to prevent the game from escaping into the lakes, and yet there is one set of parallel walls between which the game could be driven into the lake and shot at while they are driven. The round mounds on the hill-side are scattered about so that the game would be obliged to pass between them. These mounds were formerly effigies, but they have become obliterated and so we represent them as round mounds. The mounds would be hiding places for the hunters, and there is no doubt in our mind but that the shape of the mounds gave an additional sense of security to the hunters.

The superstitions and mythologies about the dream gods were very powerful among all the tribes and were evidently embodied in the mounds. We have discovered so many kinds of game-drives and found so many places these dream gods were placed with the clan totems that we have no doubt about it whatever. We explain the so-called elephant effigy in the same way. We think it was a gigantic buffalo and that it was accompanied by a hawk or massive eagle, and the two constituted a game drive or place where buffalo might be shot at as they passed down to the river.

We would here call attention to a peculiar kind of game-drive. It seems to have been a kind of corral, as if the Mound-builders had kept domestic animals, and yet it may have been a trap or double screen in which the grazing animals were sup-

posed to feed, but behind which the the hunters were supposed to hide. It is well known that elk, moose, and deer feed in low places in winter by scraping away the snow, and that in the summer they resort to the same places where they stamp the ground and beat down the high grass. These game-drives are

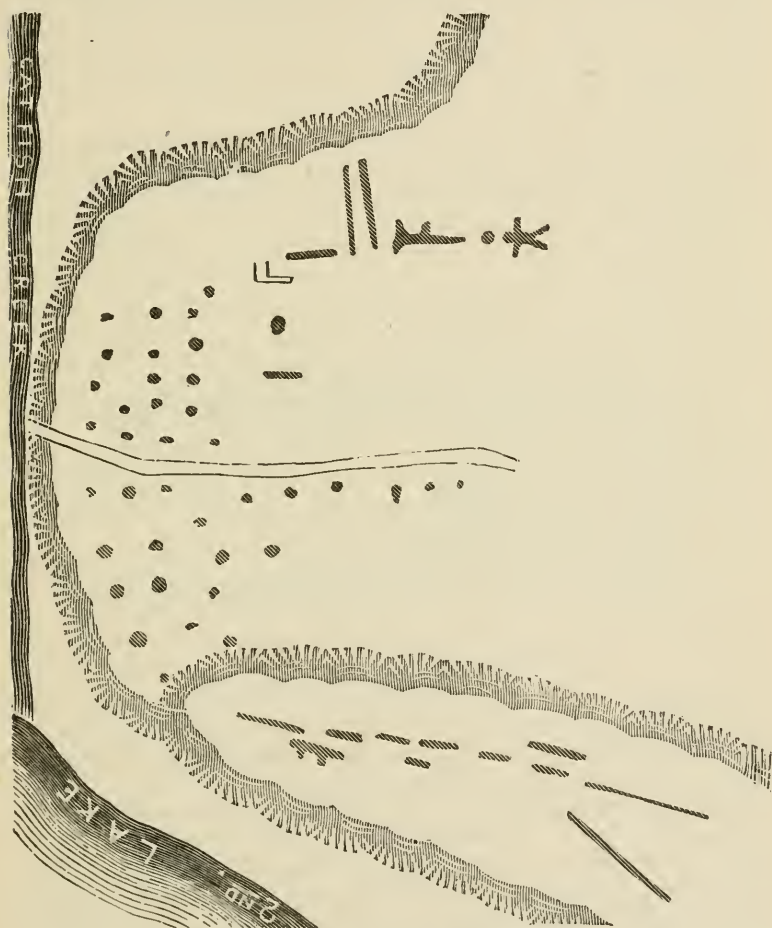


Fig. 172.—Game Drive near Catfish Bridge.

low places, but near streams. One such we have discovered on the bank of the Turtle, three miles north of Beloit. A mile from this place, nearer Beloit, is the game-drive which is represented in the cut. It is a game-drive for deer, and is arranged for the deer to be driven two or three different ways. We judge it to be a deer-drive from the fact that the panther is the effigy here, the panther being the animal which preys upon the deer. There is a turtle on the low ground and another on the point

which is used for a lookout. Our interpretation of it is that the deer was driven from its feeding ground to the game-drive and shot at from both places. See Fig. 160.

There is another corral at Sauk Prairie, situated on land belonging to Mr. Douglas. The walls are parallel with one another and form a kind of enclosure surrounding a low place of ground. We imagine that it was an enclosure in which the grazing animals were gathered, though it may have been a place where garden beds were situated, the walls being fences to protect them.*

III. We next come to the superstitions about protection. It is worthy of notice that there are very few defenses in the State of Wisconsin and that what villages there are with a few exceptions are surrounded with effigies as if there was a dependence upon them for security. The effigy-builders seem to have had a peculiar superstition about the effigies; they guarded their villages, their corn-fields, garden beds, dance grounds, burial places or houses or estufas, altars by them, and thought these sufficient. Illustrations of this are numerous. It will be seen that the effigy-builders had a method of defending their villages by totems, and they felt secure in them, notwithstanding the absence of walls or ordinary means of protection. The explanation of this we find in the superstition which the natives had about their divinities being protectors to them. On this we shall again quote the distinguished Charlevoix.

This author,† in speaking of the Indians of Canada, says that a war when once resolved upon is provided for, not only with the necessary provisions and equipage of the warriors, but is preceded by dances, songs, feasts and superstitious ceremonies. He who is to command never thinks of levying soldiers till he has observed a fast of several days, in which he invokes his tutelar genius and is careful to observe what dreams he has. He describes the arms and implements which they use. They have a kind of standard or colors to know one another by. These are small pieces of bark, cut into a round form, which they fix to the head of a pole and on which is drawn the mark of their nation or village. If the party is numerous, each family or tribe has its peculiar ensign with its distinguishing marks. Their arms are also adorned with different figures and sometimes the mark of their chief. But that which they are as careful to not forget as their arms, and which they guard with still more care, is their manitous. These are symbols under which they represent their tutelar genius. They enclose these in a bag and distribute the bags among the elders of each family. When they are on the point of entering the enemy's country, they halt to perform a very extraordinary ceremony. In the evening there

*See also map of works at Eagle Township and Diagram X.

†See Charlevoix's *Travels*, Letters XIV. Vol. I. p. 338.

is a great feast, after which they go to sleep. In the sleep they are expected to have dreams, and those who have dreams will go from tent to tent or from fire to fire singing their death songs in which they insert their dreams. After this no more fires are lighted, no more shouting and no more hunting. They are not even to speak but by signs."

Another evidence of the power of the system is the security which they feel under the safeguards of their totems. It is said that a whole army of warriors, after sending out scouts to see if an enemy is present, will go to sleep near their fires and abandon their whole camp to the safeguard of their manitous. The success of their hunting expeditions is also said to be dependent on the favor of their dream gods.

We proceed then to examine the effigies to see if there was

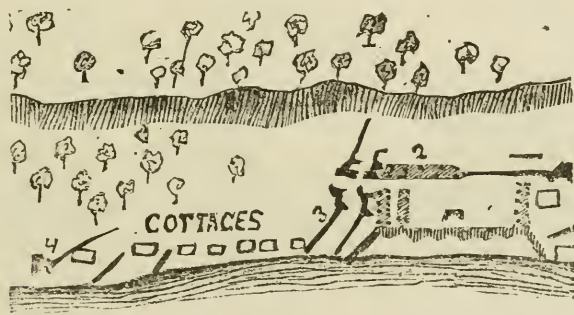


Fig. 173.—Village at Green Lake.

any such reliance upon the effigies for protection. We have already spoken of the villages which were guarded by effigies. We again bring these up, but pass on to other evidences of protection, namely, to the altars, the burial places, the lookouts, and other localities, and shall show that there was a wonderful superstition about their protecting power.

A remarkable case of a village being protected by effigies is the one at Green Lake. Here on the east side of the lake is a village site, the village being guarded by squirrel effigies, the squirrel being the emblem of the region. The village is a square enclosure, having a massive squirrel effigy on the corner of the enclosure, but the body and tail forming a wall along the land side of the village. At the opening or gateway there were four other massive squirrels, their heads forming an entrance, but their bodies and tails ran in parallel lines, so as to make a defense for the village on the north side. We recognized in the neighborhood, corn-fields, dance-circles and look-outs, the squirrel being the effigy everywhere present. See Fig. 173. The

squirrel evidently protected the village. There was no wall about this village other than the effigy, though there may have been a stockade inside of it. We compare these gate-ways to the tents of the Dakotas and the houses of the Haidahs, where the figures of elks and fishes, whales, birds, or thunderbirds guard the entrance, and where the tribal totem seemed to form a guard or protection to the family. See Fig. 174. We have found only one place which we could call a battle-field. That is situated near Sextonville, Richland county. Here there are long walls, 600 or 700 feet long, with burial mounds on either side, two lines of them on a level piece of ground. A pond of water was near one of the walls. There were no effigies. It looked very much like a battle-field. The burial mounds were numerous and close to one of the walls; no burial mound near the other

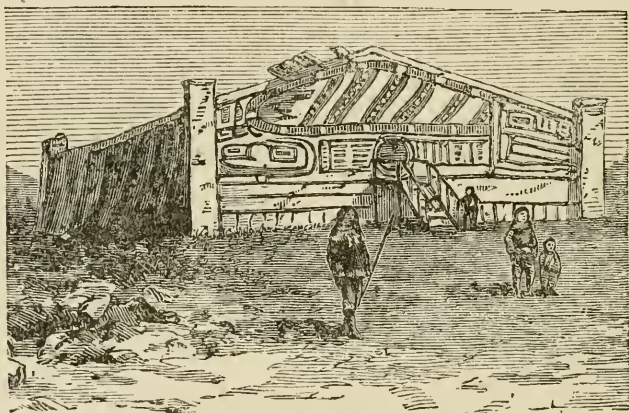


Fig. 174.—House of Skillat, Oregon.

wall. We suggest that the place should be explored and the mounds dug into to see whether there are signs of conflict in the skeletons.

Effigies as a source of protection to agricultural fields have been alluded to. Illustrations of this are numerous. The garden beds and corn-fields at Indian Prairie and Forest Home, near Milwaukee, were protected by intaglio effigies. There are corn-fields on the west shore of Lake Koshkonong, near the residence of Mr. Rufus Bingham.

Here the corn hills are on the low ground between two points which extend out toward the lake. On one point was the remains of an old French trading-point, cellar, stone chimney and other relics. On the other point are conical mounds arranged in such a shape as to give the idea that there was formerly a Mound-builders' village there. In the rear of both is a large group of effigy mounds, a group which extends along the line of the highlands partially surrounding the corn-fields. An old

trail passes through this group. It would appear from history that there was a Winnebago village on one side and a Fox village on the other, the effigies being near the Winnebago village, but round mounds near the Fox village.*

We speak about this particular locality where there were corn-fields and garden beds because we know that there were various superstitions about the raising of corn. In fact, every thing that had life about it was regarded as being a gift from the master of life, and the soil itself was regarded as a source of life. There are many places where garden-beds were protected by animals; sometimes the figures thus protecting them are clan emblems, but sometimes they are mounds which have a peculiar shape. In one place we found the garden-beds protected by a massive serpent, or rather by a natural ridge which had been modified and moulded so as to resemble a serpent. We do not know as there was any connection between this serpent ridge and the superstition about the weather divinities, and yet it is a remarkable fact that among the Dakotas the serpent is a symbol both of the lightning and of the rain. This great serpent was near Mayville and was a very peculiar object. It may have been a mere coincidence, and yet taken with other things it looks as if it embodied the native myth.

IV. The superstition about the serpent is next to be considered. Here we come in contact with a very remarkable coincidence. The serpent effigy is found in Ohio, in Wisconsin and in Dakota, three places where the tribe of Dakotas are supposed to have been located. There is this peculiarity about all of these, they are conformed to the shape of the land on which they are situated, the natural and the artificial shape both giving the idea that the serpent divinity haunted the spot. Whether this is a conception which is peculiar to the Dakotas or not, it is a very remarkable coincidence that these effigies should appear in the places where the Dakotas have lived, and only in those places. There is another point to this matter. Dr. J. W. Phene discovered a ridge in Great Britain which had the serpent shape and along the ridge were placed a line of stones which represented the spine of the serpent. In digging into the hill a cist or altar was found near where the heart of the serpent would be. There are those who think that the Dakotas migrated from the east, and that they came into the continent from the north-east and were originally from Great Britain, Scandinavia or other northern parts of Europe.† Here we have a singular and novel confirmation of the theory. The great serpent in Adams County has an altar in the very center of the body and the shape

*See Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 72, article by Dr. J. D. Butler. This cabin was probably occupied by Le Sellier, Keating, p. 175.

†See Algonquin Legends by Mr. Charles Leland and Indian Migration by Horatio Hale.

of the serpent corresponds to the shape of the ridge, the effigy having been placed upon the ridge because of its resemblance to the serpent. We claim priority in the discovery of this fact. The suggestion made several years ago has however been taken up and carried out farther than we had expected. Mr. W. H. Holmes ascertained that the ridge was not only like a serpent in its general shape, but that the rocks at the end of the ridge resembled the head of the serpent in their shape, a projecting ledge having the appearance of the sharp nose, cavities in the rock above having the appearance of eyes and the form and color of the rocks of the cliff below having the appearance of the white neck and bulging mouth or jaw of the serpent, while the tortuous shape of the ridge made it to resemble the folds of a massive serpent which was creeping out from the bluff and thrust its immense front into the very center of the valley, the depressions in the ridge above representing the rise and fall of the folds of the serpent. It is a conception which to any one is impressive and fills the mind with a kind of superstitious dread, but to an Indian was especially impressive. We have only to imagine the fire lighted upon the altar on the top of the ridge, shooting its gleams up to the sky, casting fitful shadows over the the valley below, and filling the whole scene with its mysterious glare, to realize how terribly the minds of the superstitious people would be impressed. The fire can be seen for several miles. The erection of an effigy of an immense serpent a thousand or twelve hundred feet long on this spot was in accord with the superstitions of the people. It was not strange that they should recognize the resemblance for they seem to have been given to serpent worship, but the repetition of the practice of erecting serpent effigies in this way is remarkable. We do not know how they received this cult. The original home of serpent worship is supposed to have been in India and yet it is spread from India to Great Britain and appears wherever the Indo-European race has trodden. Its introduction into this country may have been from Europe, via Iceland, Labrador and the northeast coast. The coincidences are so striking that we are inclined to say that it was a borrowed cult, yet there are those who maintain that it was indigenous to America.

The serpent effigy is found in many places. We here call attention to a recent discovery which we made at Fort Ancient. This fort is forty miles from Cincinnati and is situated on the Little Miami river. The river is a very swift and tortuous stream, subjected to sudden floods. It flows between low banks, but the bluffs rise on either side, making very wild and romantic scenery. The bluffs are as tortuous as the stream. The fort is situated on one of these tortuous ridges or bluffs. The walls of the fort are four and one-half miles in length, but are very crooked, so crooked that while the area within is only

about eighty acres, these are about four times as long as would be necessary to surround that amount of land. The walls of the fort are in the shape of massive serpents, the heads of the serpents forming the gateways. The conception was taken from the shape of the bluffs and the land surrounding the fort. Ten years ago we visited the spot and discovered the resemblance of the walls to serpents. This was at the lower fort. Here two serpents are apparently contending with one another. The heads are near together at the gateway, one head turned sideways and the other shooting straight forward. The stricture of the neck is represented by an opening in the walls. From this point the bodies separate, twisting out and leaving a wide space between them for the fort. The bodies rise and fall corresponding to the ground and rolls along the edge of the bluff. Their heads form one gateway and their tails forming another, the whole figure having the shape of a double serpent with tails and heads together, a shape which was very familiar in the East Indies and which there represented astronomical principles, the great serpent which surrounded the earth and the cosmogonic egg being between them. This myth is found in Scandinavia. It may be that it was brought to America from these countries. The discovery which we made, however, was this: While standing on the walls of the lower fort somewhere near the terraces we could look down into the valley of the stream just below, and we discovered that the shape of the valley between the bluffs was almost exactly the shape of the fort itself and the bluffs themselves had the shape of the walls surrounding the fort. At least the two embody the same superstition in reference to the natural and artificial effigies. So far as this is concerned there is no question. The conception was evidently taken from a view of the scenery. The walls and area of the fort were the counterparts of the bluff and the valley between them, while the tortuous course of the swift stream completed the picture. The figure of the serpent was everywhere present. The resemblance was too striking to escape observation. It was not a mere coincidence, but the recognition was easy. This recognition was undoubtedly the cause of the walls of the fort being in the shape of serpents. It was a recognition which had impressed the builders of the fort. The walls on which we stood overlooked the scene. It was a lookout station. There was a pathway from the fort to the lookout. This pathway had evidently been trodden by the people who dwelt in the fort. They had evidently stood on this spot and recognized the resemblance and had been impressed with it. It was a strange superstition and yet it was very powerful. Whether the superstition was a natural one or the remains of a lingering myth, a fragmentary tale which had come down from their fathers, or not, we do not know. The serpent divinity haunted the scene wherever

this strange people went. Two serpents surrounding the hollow orb as we found it here is a common conception. This may be a mere coincidence, still it is worthy of study. The great serpent in Adams County is said by Squier and Davis to have embodied the cosmogonic egg. If this is the case then the same was embodied in the walls of the ancient fort. See Diagram XI.

The same conception about the serpent is given by the effigy which Professor Todd has discovered in Dakota. He calls it "boulder mosaics." Diagram XII. The shape of the serpent is made by two lines of boulders which run in parallel lines along the summit of a large ridge, the lines separating at the head to represent its flattened shape, and in the center of the head two other boulders which represent the eyes. He says: "The eyes had a stony stare and the effigy resembled a serpent very plainly."

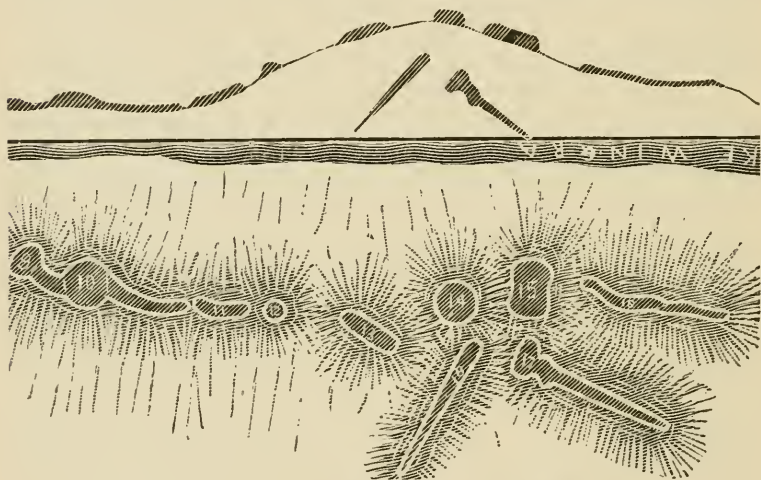


Fig. 175.—Serpent and Other Effigies at Utley's.

The main point which we make is that here also we have the same conception. The bluff resembles a massive serpent, and the effigy brings out the resemblance all the more. It was the myth of the serpent transferred from Ohio to Dakota. Now let us look further for this serpent effigy and its accompanying animistic conception. We shall find it frequently in this state. The effigies here show it as plainly as the mounds of Ohio or the boulders of Dakota. There is a ridge within sight of the capitol which we call "Effigy Ridge." On the ridge is a row of mounds and among the mounds an altar and on either side of the altar effigies. On one side is the effigy of a panther,¹⁷ on the east side the effigy of a gigantic snail,¹¹ though some would say that it had the shape of a dragon on the west side, close to the altar, is the tortuous shape of a serpent,¹⁸ with the head near the altar.¹⁵ What is strange about the whole series is that

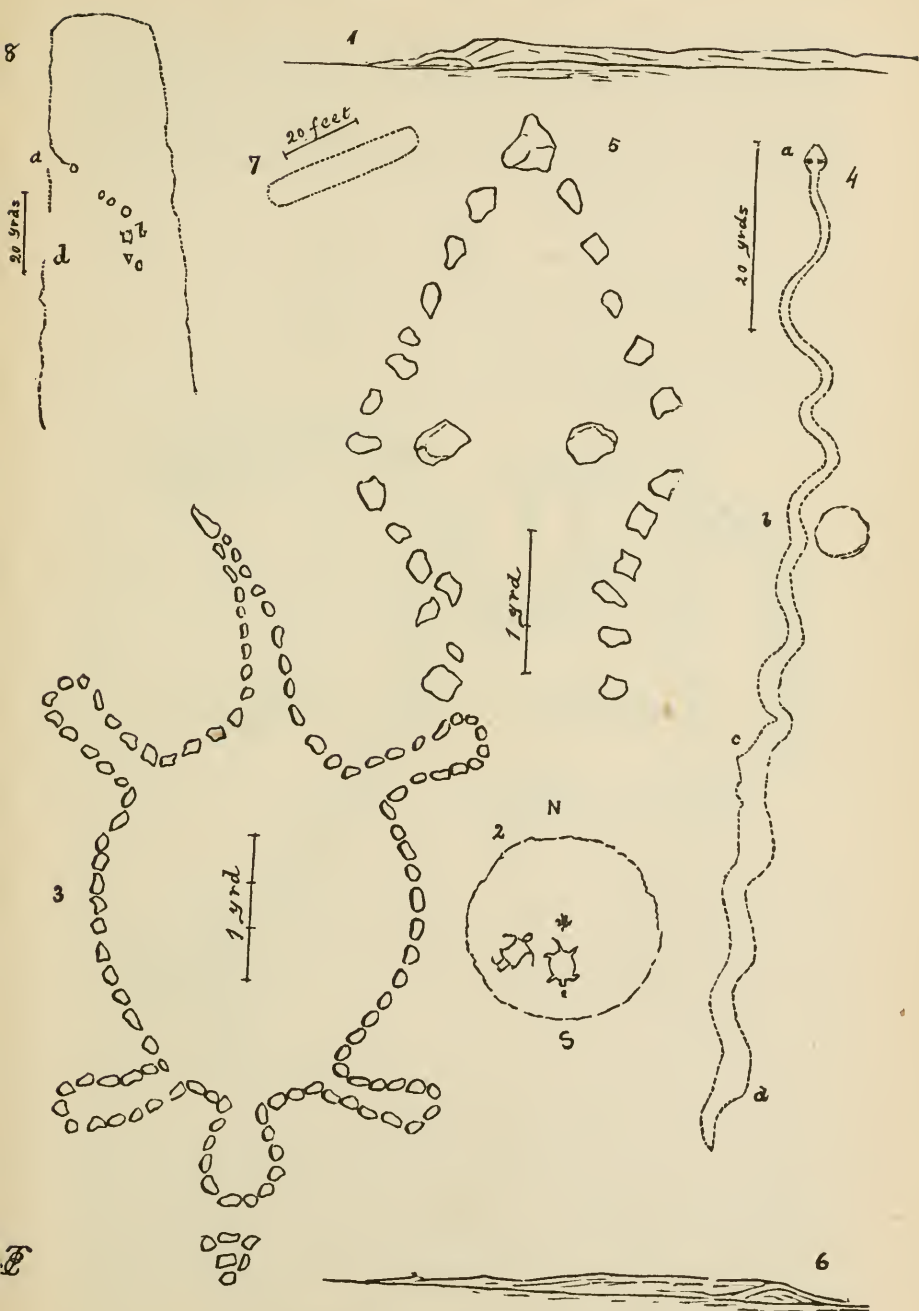


DIAGRAM XII.—"BOULDER MOSAICS."

every one of these effigies correspond exactly to the shape of the ridge, the panther being situated on a spur of the hill, but the serpent following along the edge of it and conforming to the outline, the summit of the ridge and the body of the serpent being one and the same thing. The effigies are so far obliterated that the resemblance would hardly be recognized, and yet it is there. See Fig. 175.

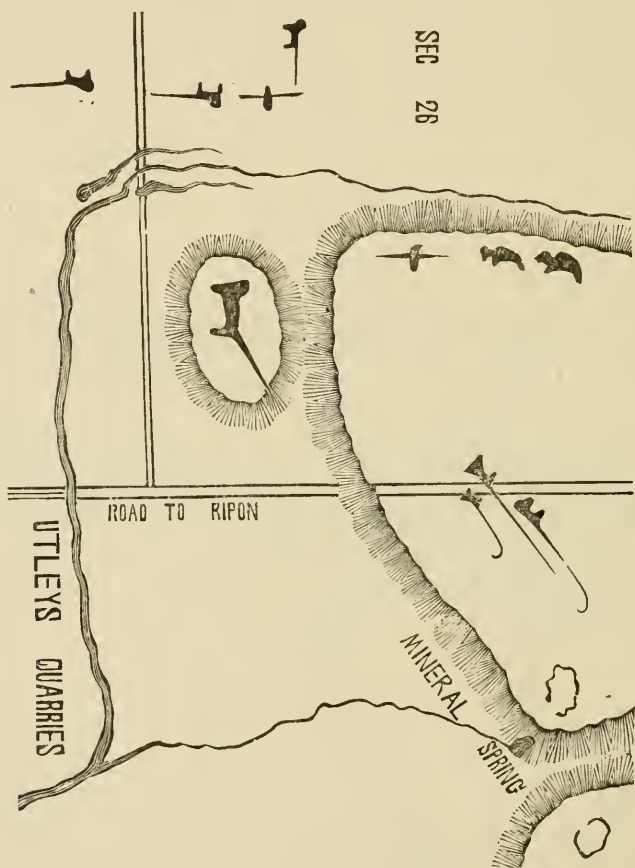


Fig. 176.—Serpent Effigy at Brandon.

There is another case more singular than this. In Green Lake County, near Brandon, ten miles from Ripon, there are several serpent effigies. Here is a group of mounds and a panther among them. The panther is on a knoll, but stretching out to a great distance toward the bluff. On the bluff there are effigies of buffalos and squirrels and below the bluff other effigies. The serpent effigies are the most singular of all. Two of them are situated on the side of the stream close to the serpent effigy,

but are so conformed to the tortuous course of the stream that they seem to have been built merely in imitation of the serpentine line of the stream. They are, however, natural and artificial and embody the same animistic conception that we have seen in so many other serpent effigies. There is a ridge of gravel through which the stream breaks, making an opening and its channel running along on either side of it. The serpents are on this ridge, the head and body covering the surface, but the tail and the rattles being on the level below the ridge, a sharp turn being exhibited at the point where the two are joined. The tail and the rattles of the serpents are entirely artificial, but the body and head are partly natural and partly artificial. The stream is a peculiar one. It starts on the prairie, a mile or two above. It breaks through a crevice and disappears, but comes out again with a burst from the rocky bluff and then twists and turns and swiftly flows through the valley. It is a snake, a watery snake, which glides through the grass, crawls into the crevice, disappears and then comes out again. It was so peculiar that it impressed the minds of the effigy builders, and so they erected the effigies of the serpents on either side, showing that they recognized the serpent divinity. See Fig. 176.

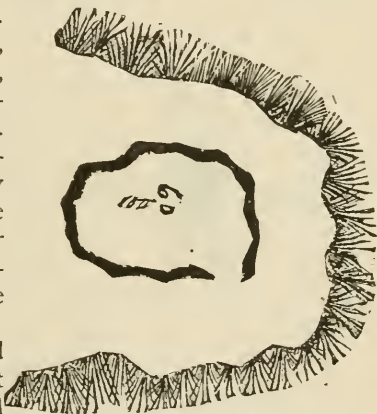


Fig. 177—Serpent Circle near Uley's.

In the same group, situated on the hill, is another serpent emblem. Its body forms a kind of circle or serpent ring, its head and tail making a gateway or opening to the circle. The wall is low, in places scarcely perceptible, a mere ring above the surface, but it is very tortuous. Every twist of the serpent is of the same length, twenty-two feet between the points. The wonderful thing about this ring is that it brings out and conforms to the tortuous shape of the bluff on which it is situated. It reminds us of the serpent ring which is so common in Mexico and is carved upon the walls of the gymnasium at Uxmal in Yucatan. It may be that here was a sacred place, either a dance circle or a sweat house or place of assembly. The circle is small, only about 60x100 feet in diameter. See Fig. 177.

We have come to the conclusion that there is no serpent emblem which has not a relation to the shape of the ground, and that serpent worship among the Mound-builders was always connected with the animistic conception, a double serpent, one natural and the other artificial, shadow and substance, spirit and form, serpent divinity and serpent effigy.

VI. The embodiment of divinities in the emblems is to be mentioned here. The Dakotas had various divinities which they represented in pictographs. One of these is the anti-natural god. This god seems to go by opposites. When it is cold he is very warm. When it is warm he is very cold. He would wrap himself up and his teeth would chatter when others were sweltering. When others were nearly freezing he would throw everything off as if he was in danger of suffocation. This god is represented as having only one leg, but always with two hands and arms. Sometimes the arms are extended out and have lines dropping from them like rain-drops. Sometimes he has a bow and seems to be shooting birds and toads from it. Figs. 178-179. Sometimes his hands are down near his sides, but open as if presenting or receiving gifts. Now we imagine that we have



Fig. 178.—Heyoka as a Rain-God.



Fig. 179.—Heyoka as a Hunter.

discovered the effigy of Heyoka, the anti-natural god of the Dakotas among the emblems. We discovered at one time an emblem of a man which in shape resembles that of Heyoka. This emblem had but one leg when we saw it; but its arms were very plain and its head was distinct. It had the same attitude which the anti-natural God always has, and in this respect differs from most of the human emblems which we have discovered. It may be, however, that the man mounds were, many of them, the divinities, and that the different shapes and attitudes represented the different offices of these divinities.

The same divinity is frequently represented by the Dakotas as having two heads or faces like the Janus of ancient mythology. He is represented as a tall and slender man. Mr. W. H. Canfield has sent us the diagram of a mound drawn to a scale of inches, which represents a tall and slender man with two faces, resembling very much the pictographs of Heyoka. This mound was found in Sauk County, near Baraboo. Fig. 180. Mr. S. Taylor has described in 1837 a mound with two heads which he saw

near Muscoda, on the Wisconsin river. Now Heyoka is a perfect paradox. He groans when he is full of joy. He laughs

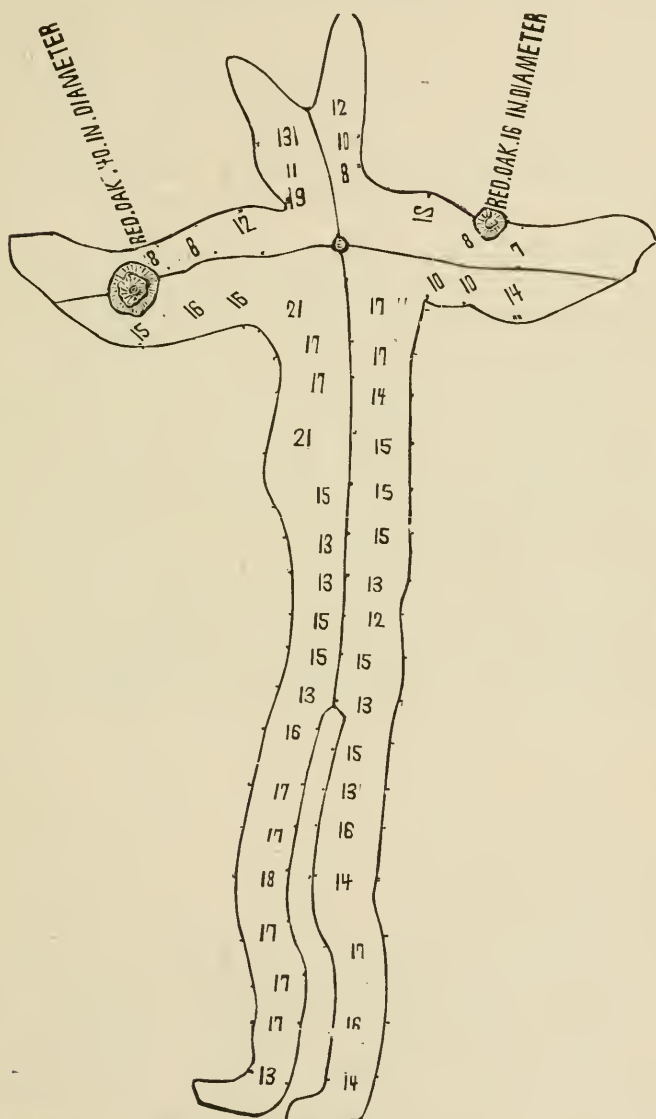


Fig. 180.—Man Mound near Baraboo.

when he is distressed and differs from every one else. It is said that the Heyoka keeps a zoological garden; among his animals are deer, elk and buffalo. He hurls meteors and uses the lightning to kill his game with. It is a conjecture worthy of atten-

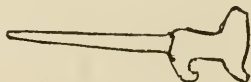
tion that the man mounds which are so frequently seen in the midst of animal mounds embodied this same conception.

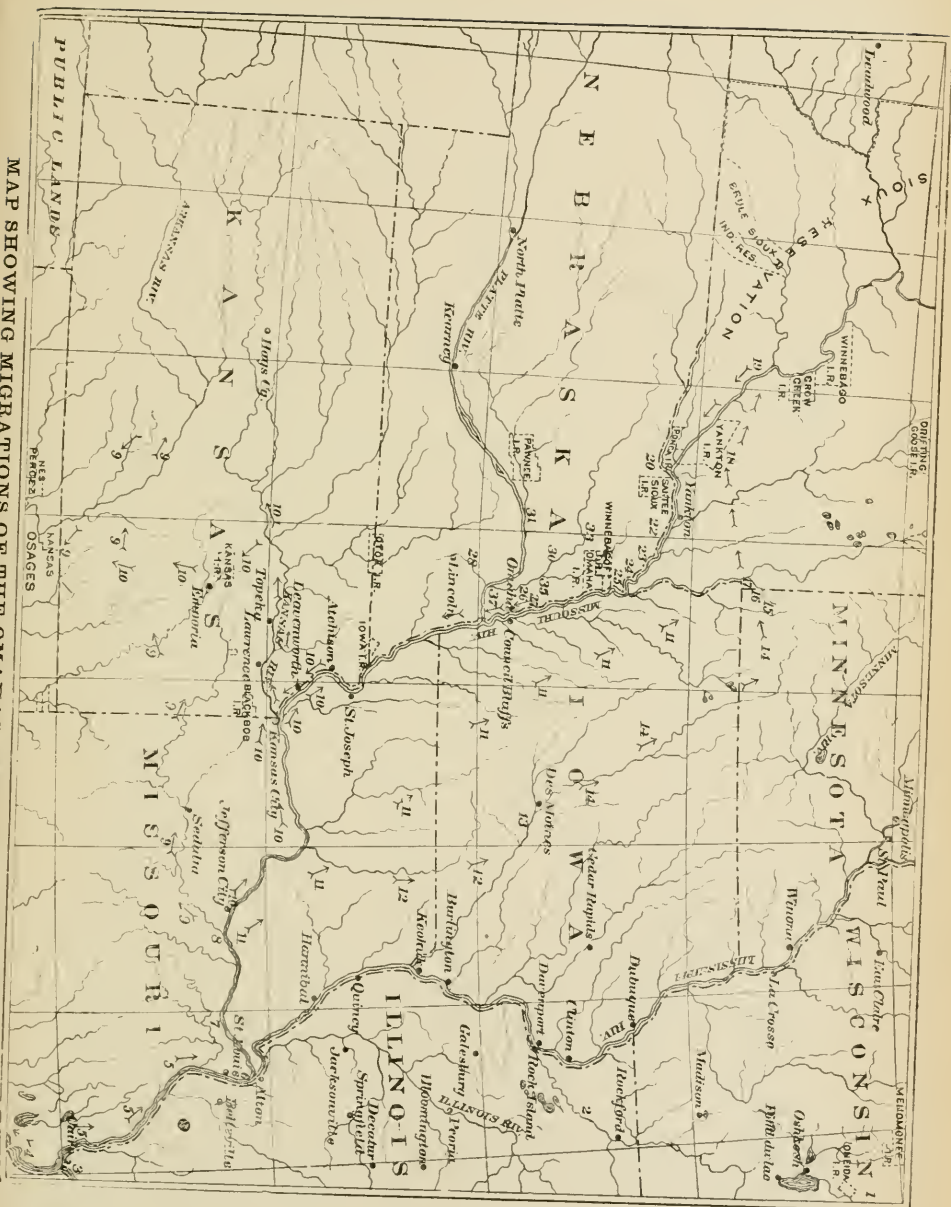
Dr. Lapham was accustomed to recognize everywhere human emblems. Almost every bird that had straight wings he calls man mounds. This is to be said in his defense. The Dakotas sometimes represented the thunder-bird in such way that if you looked at it in a certain direction it would seem like a bird, but from another direction it looked like a man. It may be that the thunder-bird was embodied in the mounds, and that in some cases there was a mingling of the bird shape and the human form.

This confounding bird emblems with man mounds at least is significant. The thunder-bird and the anti-natural God both represented the nature powers, and it may be that the blending of the two was designed to show the double capacity.

We can say this at least of the man mounds, that some of them have a very peculiar shape, and we have no other way of explaining them than that they represent nature powers. Were this the case we should say that the man with the wide arms in the cut before us was intended to represent the rain-god, and yet there are other man mounds which represent the man as walking, with his hands hanging at the sides, and so we are at a loss again.

We can say this at least. The coincidences are very remarkable. We have come nearer to the solution of the problem about the effigy-builders by the myths and the mounds than we expected; and yet there are so many points on which imagination can mislead us that we leave the subject as still doubtful.





MAP SHOWING MIGRATIONS OF THE OMAHAS AND COQUATE INDIANS

LEGEND.

1. Winnebago habitat.	16. Cliffs 100 feet high on each bank.
2. Iowa habitat.	17. Fort built by the three tribes.
3. Arkansas habitat.	18. Lake Andes.
4. Kwapa habitat, after the separation from the Omahas, etc.	19. Mouth of White river.
5. Route of the Omahas, Ponkas, Kansas & Osages	20. Mouth of the Niobrara river.
6. Their habitat at mouth of the Missouri river.	22. Omaha Village on Bow Creek.
7. Their course along that river.	23. Iowa Village on Ionia Creek.
8. Their habitat at the mouth of the Osage river.	24. Omaha Village Ljpaŋgajinga and Zandebupa.
9. Subsequent course of the Osages.	25. Omaha Village at Omadi.
10. Subsequent course of the Kansas.	26. Omaha Village on Bell Creek.
11. Course of the Omahas and Ponkas, according to some.	27. Probable course of the Iowas.
12. Their course, according to others.	28. Omaha habitat on Salt Creek.
13. Where they met the Iowas.	30. Omaha habitat at Ane nat'acan.
14. Course of the three tribes.	31. Omaha habitat on Shell Creek.
15. Pipestone quarry.	33. Omaha habitat on the Elkhorn river.
	35. Omaha habitat on Logan Creek.
	37. Omaha habitat near Bellevue.

CHAPTER XII.

A MAP OF THE EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

THE LOCATION OF THE MOUNDS.

The problem as to who the effigy-builders were and for what purpose they were built has now been before us through several chapters. We seem to be approaching a solution of it. There remain, however, a few factors which must be brought in and considered attentively before we reach the solution. These factors, strangely enough, seem to connect themselves with the maps. There are three points brought before us by the maps; each of which seem to teach the same lesson. We have been considering the question whether the Dakotas or any branch of them were the mound-builders. The study of the maps seems to nearly prove the case. At least the correspondence which is brought out by this is very remarkable. We can hardly believe that this would be so great unless it were owing to a fact, for mere coincidences would not be so repeated in detail.

The facts which we have in mind, and which seems so to confirm our theory are as follows: I. The migration of the Dakotas and the location of the effigy-mounds correspond remarkably on the general map, the migrations having reached the several points where the effigies have been discovered. II. The pictorial representations which are supposed to have belonged to the Dakotas and which are still found upon rocks which are in the track of these migrations, have striking resemblances to the effigy-mounds in their varied shapes. III. The map of Wisconsin, the state in which the effigies are most numerous, gives us some remarkable suggestions as to the reasons for the locating of effigy-builders in the state, there being a striking correspondence between the topography of the state and the different classes of mounds which are there found. IV. The map of each locality where effigies are found has some very important lessons as to the reason for these particular effigies, as the location of the effigies reveals the very haunts of the animals, as well as their habits. V. The last point is that which

relates to the clans, the specific location of each clan being ascertained by an examination of a map of the mounds.

I. The migrations of the Dakotas. There are two or three maps in existence which illustrate this point. One of them was prepared by Mr. Horatio Hale and published in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, designed to show the course and direction of the migrations of the Tutelos, a branch of the Dakotas, between the years 1671 and 1780. This map locates the Tutelos at the earliest date, on the east side of the Blue Ridge mountains, at the head waters of the Roanoke river, but traces the migration down into the borders of South Carolina, and northward through North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, to the state of New York. Now the first location corresponds to a certain extent with the place where the stone bird emblems, described by Mr. C. C. Jones, were discovered. The name of the Cherokees is found on the map below that of the Tutelos and it is probable that the Cherokees and the Tutelos were associated; that one or the other of these erected the effigies in Georgia.

The second map is one prepared by Rev. J. O. Dorsey, and published in the *Naturalist* and afterwards in the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. This map traces the wanderings of the Dakotas after they reached the mouth of the Missouri river and locates the villages of the Omahas upon the Missouri, the Des Moines, the Kansas and Arkansas rivers, and at the same time shows the location of the Iowas, Winnebagos, and other cognate tribes. According to this map the migration of the Dakotas was from the southeast to the northwest, but the migration of the Winnebagoes was from the southwest to the northeast, the different branches having separated at the mouth of the Missouri river, and passed up the different rivers to the habitat, in which they were located.

A third map, which is still more interesting than either of the other two, is given by Mr. J. O. Dorsey, but borrowed from Mr. George Catlin; this illustrates the traditional wanderings of the Mandans, a branch of the Dakotas from southern Ohio to the mouth of the Missouri river and up that river to its various branches. This map locates Mandan remains near Cincinnati, near Cairo in southern Illinois, and Mandan "villages" at various points on the Missouri river above St. Louis, and to the headwaters of that river "where they become extinct." This map corresponds with the tradition that the ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, Winnebagoes and Pawnees dwelt east of the Mississippi; that they were their allies, not all in one region, and that their general course was westward. The map connects itself with the emblems in this way: There are effigies in Ohio, the starting point; there are effigies in Wisconsin, the terminating

point; and there are at various points in the line—on the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers—rock inscriptions, which show animal figures resembling those contained in the mounds, thus giving a hint as to the common use of these figures among the Sioux or Dakotas in all their branches. There is another connecting link: there is a tradition among the Iowa chiefs that the Omahas, Ponkas and Iowas formed a part of the Winnebago nation, and that the Iowas sang their mystic songs in the Winnebago language. It is said also that a careful study of the languages of the Iowas, Omahas and Winnebagos show that they are very closely related.

II. The pictorial representations furnish another point. It is very remarkable that there are various figures on the rocks in the region where the Dakotas have dwelt which correspond with the effigy-mounds. We shall here give a description of these.

1. We first present the inscriptions found upon the rocks near Alton, the very place where the Dakotas are said to have made a long stop on their migratory journey. Some of these pictographs have been known to history for a long time. One of them was seen by Marquette and his fellow-voyagers when they first took their journey down the Mississippi river.

This filled the Indians accompanying him with a sense of awe; he therefore gave a particular and definite description of it in the report of his voyage. The pictograph remained on the rocks until during the late war, when it is said to have been destroyed by the gunboats who fired into it. The story told Marquette by the Indians, was "that a demon haunted the river at this place, whose roar could be heard a great distance, and who would engulf them in the abyss where he dwelt; that the waters were full of frightful monsters who would devour them in their canoe." This was the myth associated with the pictograph. There are, however, various modern stories or versions of the same story which are now passing current, as if they were the native myths. Mr. William McAdams has gathered these stories into his volume upon "Ancient Races," and published them at length, as if they were genuine, with various engravings as representations of the original pictograph; engravings taken from modern books which are of sensational character and of doubtful authority.

We do not regard these as reliable accounts. Mr. Francis Parkman has a fac-simile of a map made a few years after Marquette's voyage decorated with the portrait of one of the animals drawn by Marquette. Mr. McAdams rejects this and uses a cut which was wrought by a German artist, and which appeared in a German publication, published in Dusseldorf in 1839. It represents a sort of animal with wings and legs and horns, but with the human face. The face has a beard and looks very much like a German face. All of these stories are

mere inventions and do not deserve a place in any book. They will do for the gossip of the locality, as they are sensational and excite curiosity. See Fig. 181.

There is a story of the thunder-bird which formerly prevailed in this region. The story is that the thunder-bird would make his appearance before the rain in answer to the prayer of the rain-maker, but the story of the Winnebago medicine animal is more significant than this. It is possible that the figure was designed to be a representation of that animal, yet so many winged figures are being discovered in the mounds that we are doubtful even of this. The name Piasa has been given to the figure, but really has nothing to do with it. It belongs to the



Fig. 181.—Rock Inscriptions near Alton.

Fox Indians and has been only repeated by old settlers as coming from that tribe. It was the name of the father of the celebrated Indian chief Black Hawk, and still remains as the name of a stream which flows into the Mississippi river near by.

The myth of the bird and the medicine animal correspond well with Indian mythology, but the others must be regarded as a fabrication. There are rock inscriptions near Alton which are of value. Mr. McAdams has spoken of several. They represent birds mingled with human figures and between them certain symbolic figures, such as the circle with dots, and the circle and cross. The significance of these birds in the pictograph is not understood; some would make them to be birds of the sun. Mrs. E. R. Emerson says "that the repetition of

these bird figures reminds one of the chant of the Indians in which a single line is repeated with little variation many times."

We now turn to ask the question whether anything of this kind is found among the emblematic mounds. We would say that while we imagine the myths about the anti-natural god and other divinities to have been embodied in the effigies, yet so far as the medicine animal is concerned we have never found anything that corresponds to it. There is to be sure a granite boulder at Green Lake which has been split into two pieces and on the smooth face of one is an inscription which reminds us of Schoolcraft's figures. The inscription contains circles like a calendar and between the circles are canoes sailing, with Indians in them, and between the canoes are animals with bony spines and dragon heads and long tails. This was left here by an artist who undoubtedly amused himself in making these pictographs. There are, however, emblematic mounds which seem to have a mythologic significance.

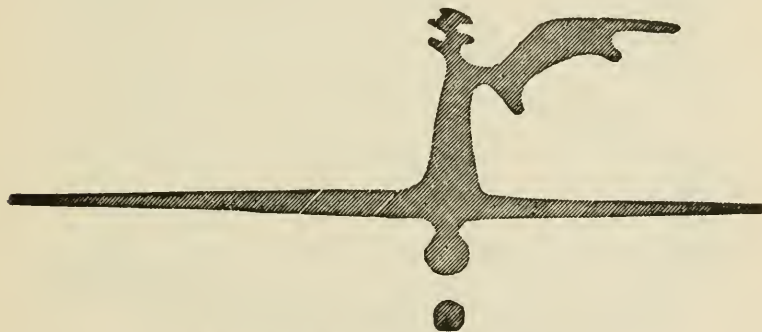


Fig. 182.—Composite Mound near the Wisconsin River.

The composite mound described by S. Taylor contains the head and body of a man, the wings of a bird, the horns of an elk or deer, the tail of a fur-bearing animal, all the different classes being represented in one, man, beast, bird, grazing animal, fur-bearing animal. Fig 182. Dr. Lapham has spoken of the composite mounds near Horicon. Some of these seem to contain the head of a deer, the neck of an antelope, the body of a fish. We have seen composite mounds near Greenbush which we imagine contained the shapes of pipes in combination with the shape of an animal. The effigy on Lake Wingra which we have already described might be taken to be the effigy of a dragon, though it might represent a gigantic snail. This is another specimen. Composite mounds are somewhat common in Wisconsin.

Mr. W. H. Canfield has spoken of several at Baraboo. These are in the shape of the letter X or a pair of scissors the shape we have seen at Summit. They are associated with animal effigies. The double ox-bow at Sheboygan is another

specimen of symbolic figures. See Fig. 183. We refer to these cases, not because there is any great resemblance between them and the medicine animal, but because they are unusual figures and show the variety of conception which prevailed.

2. The inscriptions found upon rocks in Dakota are worthy of study. These have been described by T. H. Lewis, and are associated by him with the thunder-bird's track. These inscriptions are upon boulders which are found upon the edge of the Public Park, in Brown's Valley, near the Minnesota river. The people called the boulder "The Sacred Rock," and the plateau they called "sacred." Indians of the region have no tradition of the boulder or its inscriptions. Twelve hundred feet to the

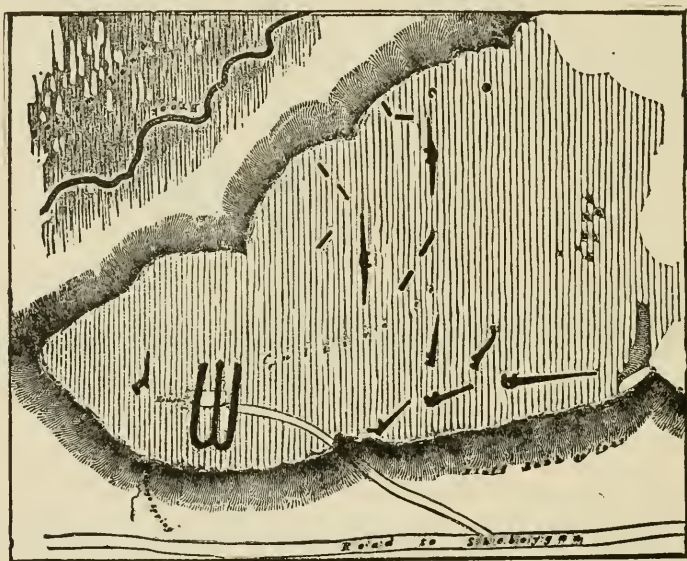


Fig. 183—Group of Effigies at Sheboygan.

eastward of one these is an ancient enclosure, a fort of the mound-builders, containing about four acres, with the customary outlying mound near by. Mr. T. H. Lewis interprets the figures as follows:

Fig. 1, the central figure represents a man; Fig. 2, a bird; Fig. 3 a tortoise; Fig. 4 a cross and circle; Figs. 5, 6, 7, either crosses or bird tracks; Figs. 8 and 9, nondescripts; Fig. 10 and 11, small dots or cups. Another boulder found in Roberts County, Dakota, contains similar figures. The interpretation of these is as follows: Figs. 1 and 2 are tortoises; Fig. 3, a bird track; Fig. 4, a man; Fig. 5, a nondescript; Fig. 6, a headless bird, greatly resembling certain effigies in the regions to the southeast. Diagrams XIII and XIV. This boulder is near what is called the "thunder-bird's track brother;" they are all figures

which have a conventional shape and remind us of the effigy-mounds, though the resemblance between the man-shaped figure and the man-shaped mound is more striking than that found in any of the others. We cannot fail to be impressed with this thought,

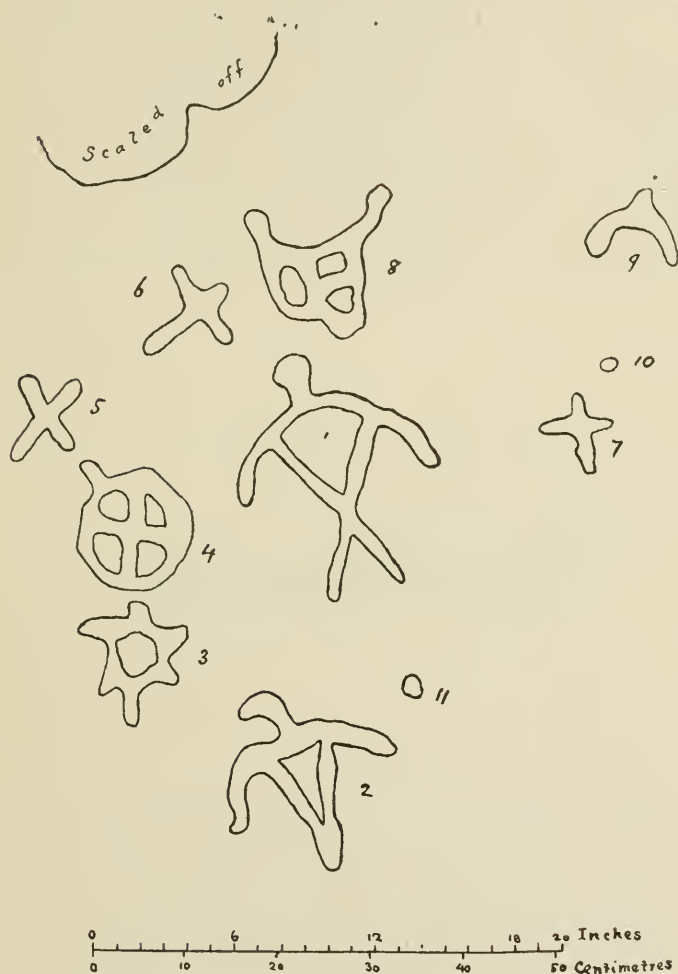


Diagram XIII.

that the Dakotas on the Minnesota river had reached the same conventional style in representing their totems, that the Winneagoes attained in Wisconsin. These were evidently Dakota totems. The tradition is "that there used to be a spirit that marked the boulders at night. It would work making a sound like hammering and occasionally emit a light similar to that of a fire-fly."

3. A third fact confirmatory of the theory that the Winnebagoes built the mounds is found in the customs of the Dakotas. Miss Alice Fletcher tells about the dances, feasts and religious ceremonies of the Dakotas. She says that "in many of their feasts they lay bare little spots of ground in the midst of their tent, and then place their pipes and robes and other symbols and sacred things near this ground, and then they burn sweet grass on the mellow spot, and sometimes lay gifts of various kinds, making them pass through the smoke of the sweet grass. In the case of the finding of a white buffalo they make a great feast and go through very elaborate ceremonies, one part of which is to take tufts or stripes of the buffalo skin with the white hair upon it, planting these tufts in the plat of ground with great solemnity and care. In the feast of the Ghost Lodge, given by

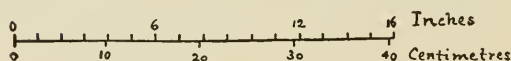
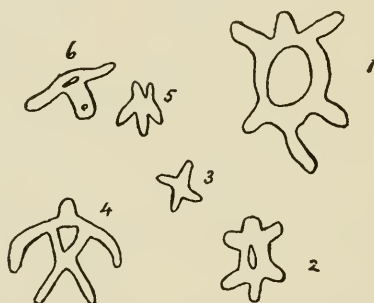
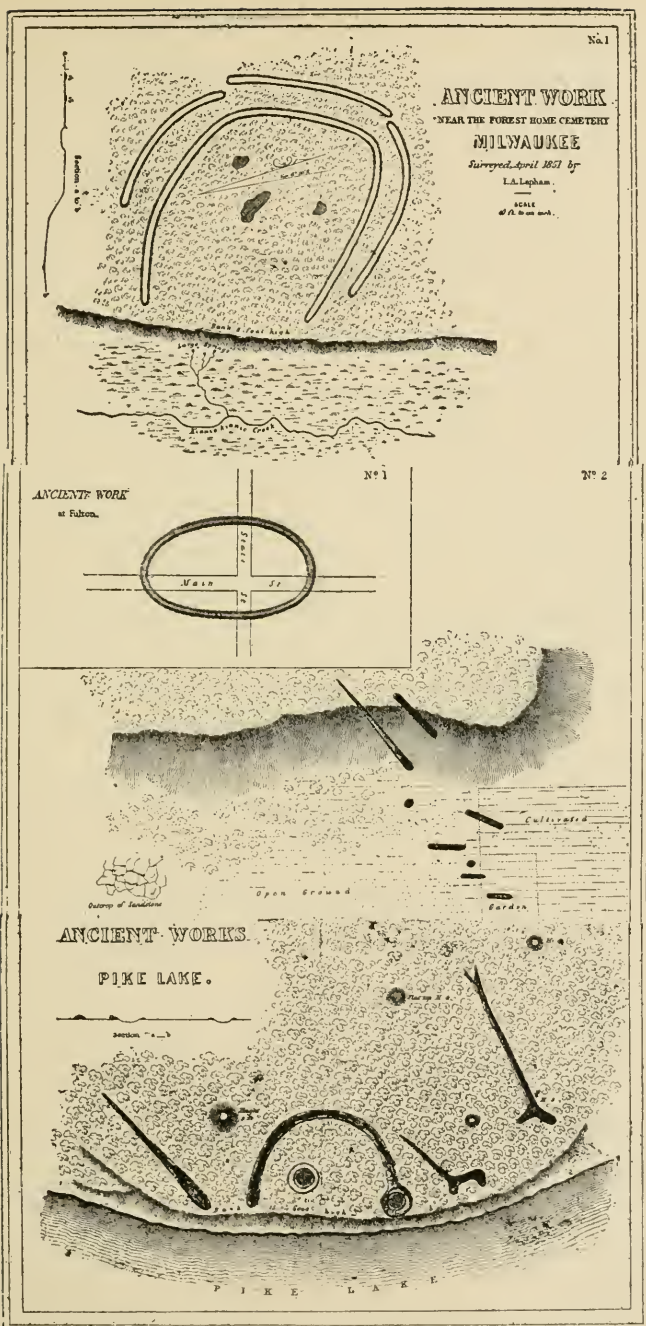


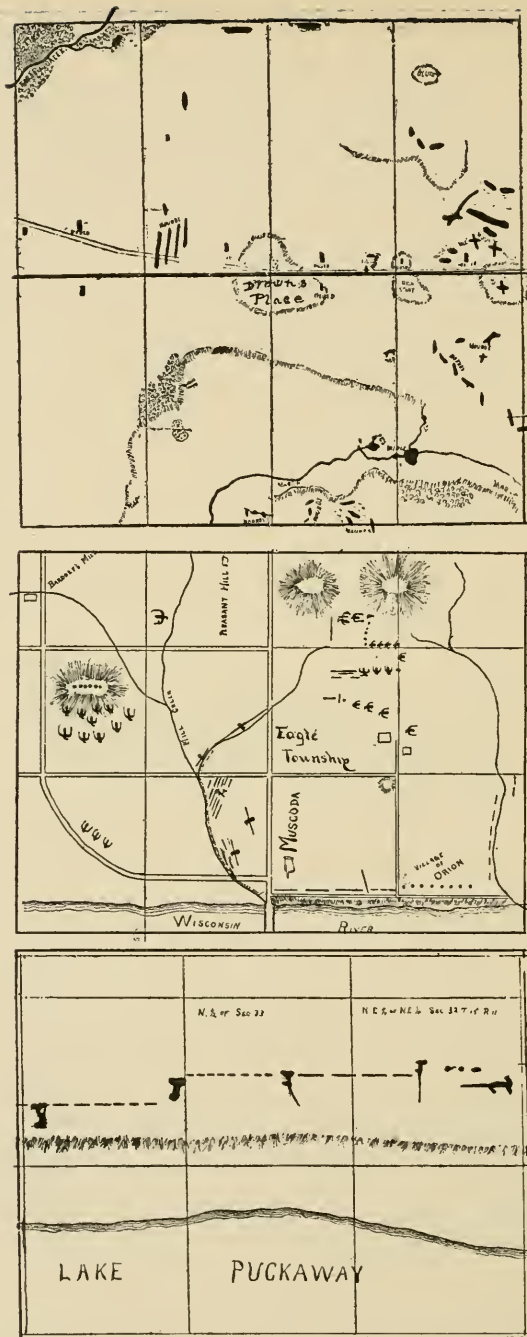
Diagram XIV.

a father who has lost a child, they open the soil in the same way. They burn sweet grass upon it, and take locks of hair which have been cut off from the child's head and plant these in the soil. In the feast of the Elk Mystery, they open the ground by taking away the sod, place their pipes on four sides to represent the four quarters of the sky, and then burn the wild artemesia or sweet grass. A pole is set up before it. A sacred dish contains water and leaves. Pipes are passed through the smoke and lit. Four young women dressed in green are seated near it. Four young men painted to represent the four colors of the clouds—white cloud, red cloud, blue cloud and yellow cloud—stand near the young women. But the whole ceremony concentrates and begins with the process of laying bare the ground and placing upon it the coal of fire and burning the sweet incense upon the bare ground."

This custom has a bearing upon the agriculture of the effigy-



FORT, DANCE CIRCLE, GAME DRIVE, MEDICINE LODGE.



MAP OF EFFIGIES NEAR ROCK, WISCONSIN, AND FOX RIVERS.

builders. It shows how sacred the soil was regarded by the natives. It shows also the superstition that they had about the "Master of Life" haunting the soil and filling it with his spirit. It shows also the sacredness with which every symbol was regarded, whether the symbol was in the relics, such as pipes, robes, tufts of grass and tufts of hair, or in the soil itself. It shows also the significance of the human form and of the motions of the human body, especially when they were imitative of animal figures.

One thing is to be said about the combination of human and animal motions. The dances of the Indians were frequently conducted in such a way as to imitate the motion of the animals. Take the elk mystery, which we have before described. After the four girls which represented the four quarters of the sky took the four pipes in their hands and marched out of the sacred tent, they were followed by the four young men who were painted to represent the four clouds, but following them was a motley throng of men, old and young; all of them having masks and horns resembling elks. They marched along imitating all the motions of the elk, sometimes running out and hiding as the elk would hide, and sometimes crouching and dropping their heads, and again lifting their heads high. The imitation was complete, and could be recognized by any one. This march continued for four hours, and the distance traversed was over seven miles. The elks came back again with their ornaments rattling like the hoofs of the elks. Catlin has described the buffalo dance, in which every dancer wore the head and horns of the buffalo on and imitated the motions of the buffalo. We have seen dances like this among the Winnebagoes ourselves. The steamboats would land at Green Bay. The Indians would gather on the wharf and dance. The passengers would throw money upon the wharf and the buffalo's hop would become unusually lively. It was a burlesque, and yet some of the attitudes did resemble those of the buffalo.

This habit of embodying animal life in human motion is not peculiar to the natives of America. There are dances among the Fijis in which the women will drape themselves in gauzy material and will imitate the motion of the waves as they break upon the shore, the motion of the dancers being very graceful, but having also a secondary significance. The imagination of the rude and uncivilized people seems to fix upon natural objects and make them expressive of a divinity. There are many places in this country where mythology has transformed a rock or an island or a river into the abode of a divinity. Rocks in New England which resemble the moose are said to be haunted by the Great Moose divinity. Rivers in Ohio which in their forks resemble the branching horns of the deer are named after the deer. The Illinois river, which in its sluggish and tortuous

channel, resembles a serpent, is said to have been formed by a serpent divinity. The channel was dug out by his body and the stream follows the track of the serpent through the prairies. The island of Mackinaw is said to be haunted by a great turtle; the shape of the island giving rise to the myth. Some deny this and maintain that there is nothing in the shape of the island to give rise to the thought, and yet the tradition will linger about the various localities in the island. It is said that the Sugar Loaf rock is the abode of the god of the island. The early voyagers speak of the myth and tell about the Indians offering their tobacco to the turtle when they pass certain points of the island.

III. The third point which we are to take up has regard to the location of the effigies in the State of Wisconsin. One point of inquiry will be why the effigies are so numerous here. Another will be as to the resources of the state, whether they furnish a reason for the particular and specific locations of the effigies. A third inquiry is whether there is any reason for the specific animal shapes, whether there is any correspondence between the effigies and the topography that would account for these shapes. Our argument, if stated, would be as follows: There are effigies in various parts of the country, in Georgia, in Ohio and Dakota, as well as in Wisconsin. There are also rock inscriptions in several of these states which have some remarkable resemblances to the effigies. In studying the map in which the migrations of the Dakotas are laid down, we find that both the effigies and the pictographs are in localities where the Dakotas or some branch of that nation were once located. In Wisconsin there are very few pictographs, but many effigies. The substitution of the effigies for pictographs and the increased development of the custom of imitating animal figures may have made this state a great picture gallery. The question is: Was there not something in the scenery or in the surroundings which favored this.

We take up, then, the question, Why are the mounds so numerous in Wisconsin? Is there anything in the situation, its topography, its scenery, its resources, or its soil or climate that would make it the home of the effigy-builders? This is the main question.

1. Our first point will be in regard to the situation of the state. The state is isolated and separated from all others, and when it became the abode of a people which had this peculiarity it would afford them the opportunity of developing it undisturbed.

It will be noticed that there is a water barrier on all sides of the state; the Mississippi river separating it from the land to the west and the wide expanse of Lakes Michigan and Superior

separating it from the land east and north. The state has the shape of a great peninsula which runs up from the prairie region of the south through a belt in which prairie was interspersed with timber, and then ends in the great pine forests which intervene between the Fox River and the south shore of Lake Superior. It is a region traversed by rivers and so remote from other states that any people who dwelt here would be comparatively safe from intrusion. It was in fact at one time a refuge for the the various Indian tribes which had experienced defeat in other parts of the country. Allouez, when he first visited Wisconsin and the waters of Lake Superior and Marquette when he crossed the state by the way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers found here various fragments of the Illinois and Miami Indians; such as the Mascoutens, Kickapoos, and others who had been driven here by disturbances which had come upon their homes. The Sacs and Foxes, Pottowotamies and others were also refugees. It would appear that the Iroquois, who were the great scourge of the Algonquin tribes, had driven them into the wilds of Wisconsin, and so the villages of all these tribes were discovered here by the early explorers. It is unknown what tribe originally occupied the country, but the fact that the Dakotas were for so long a time the possessors of the soil just west of the river would render it possible that the Winnebagoes were the original occupants.

How long this tribe had dwelt here is unknown but so far as any record goes it would seem as though they were both the earliest and the latest occupants. We have already intimated that the Winnebagoes may have been the mound-builders. It is very remarkable that the villages of the Winnebagoes were on the very spots where the effigies were most numerous. There are, to be sure, a few cases where the villages of the Pottowotamies correspond to the villages of the effigy-builders; as for instance, at Waukesha and certain places near Milwaukee; but this was probably owing to the fact that the Pottowotamies here displaced the Winnebagoes. It is noticeable that the early maps, such as Farmer's, published in 1830, and Chandler's in 1829, locate Winnebago villages near where the effigies are now found and draw the trails between those villages, some of which are known to traverse the groups of effigies.*

2. The permanence of the population may be given as a cause for the prevalence of mounds here rather than elsewhere. Tribes which are constantly roving are not likely to leave many traces of their occupation of the soil. On the other hand, tribes which

*We have spoken of the distinction between the sites of Indian villages and the groups of effigies in a previous chapter. This remark will apply to the villages of the Sacs and Foxes, Pottawotamies, Mascoutens, but not to the Winnebagoes. The evidences are coming out more and more as the sites of the Winnebago villages are studied, that they were in the identical spots where effigies are now existing. To illustrate: General Long discovered Winnebago villages at the mouth of the Kishwaukee river; quite recently effigies have been discovered there. See Science, Sept. '88.

have permanent homes are likely to increase the tokens of their life each year, and the more permanent they are the more tokens they will leave. There are localities in this state where the effigy-builders evidently had permanent residences; Aztalan is one of those places. Recent excavations have brought to light refuse heaps or kitchen-middens, which are of very considerable interest. These heaps were dug out of the so-called cellars or sink-holes which have been known to exist there. Rev. Mr. Somers says that he has found the bones of nearly all the wild animals which are represented in the effigies, and at the same time found pottery of a rude kind and human bones which were cut and broken in such a way as to indicate cannibalism. There are many other signs of permanent occupation at this place. The burnt clay which is found in the walls at Aztalan has been regarded by some as a proof that there were stockades on the summit. The supposition is that these stockades were burned, and that the clay was burned with the timbers. It was evidently a superficial burning, for the interior of the wall is of earth, like other earth-works and mounds. The size of the platform mounds would indicate that permanent houses were erected here. Aztalan may be compared to some of the fortified villages in Tennessee, for it has the same projecting bastions in its walls and the same pyramidal platforms within its enclosure. The effigy-builders may also be compared, in other respects, to the people who built these forts and who left many specimens of art in the mounds. They seem to have had a remarkable skill in depicting animal figures. The same question arises in reference to both localities, Why are such specimens of art found in these particular localities rather than others? Some might give a positive answer, and say that there was an affinity between the two races. Prof. Thomas says that the Cherokees were the people who built the forts in Ohio and who left their tokens in Tennessee; others maintain that they were of the same stock as the Dakotas, who migrated to Minnesota and sent an offshoot into Wisconsin. On this point we shall express no opinion. The resemblance between the walled towns and the art products may be a mere coincidence, still the further study of the two languages may prove this affinity. If such should be the case we shall accept this explanation of the emblems; and yet the isolation of this state would furnish a reason for these mounds being placed on the soil here. One answer might come for both districts. People were more permanent in these regions than in most other places.

The point which we make is that the same habit of representing animal divinities, which prevailed among the Cherokees and Dakotas, in common with all other tribes, was here expressed in a different way. Instead of engraving them upon shell or inscribing them upon rock, this people built them on the soil, the permanence of their occupation giving them leisure to do so.

There are but few inscribed rocks in Wisconsin. The pictured cave in West Salem furnishes about the only specimen. See Fig. 184. Still, if the people were to leave their totems in any permanent form they did wisely to mould them in the earth.

3. The resources of the state as regards the means of subsistence are suggestive. The state of Wisconsin is peculiar in this respect. It contains a great variety of resources and many and varied products. These products have somewhat changed now that the prairies have been plowed up and the forests cut down and the artificial has taken the place of the natural conditions; yet enough of the old resources are left to show what were the means of subsistence during the time of the mound-builders. By means of subsistence, we intend not only the vegetable products, but the animal life, the mineral resources and other peculiarities. In reference to the cereals there were formerly many



Fig. 184.—Figures in Pictured Cave at West Salem.

kinds, some of which have continued. The swamps and marshes were evidently once filled with wild rice, and it seems probable that the mound-builders gathered this as well as the Indians after them. It is evident also that maize was formerly cultivated, in the state; the mound-builders having had large fields of it, some of which may still be seen near the mounds.

In reference to berries and fruit there are certain parts of the state where cranberries, huckle-berries, and blueberries are very abundant. These are found mainly on the northwest side of the Wisconsin river on the Lemonweir. There are effigies in this region and it seems likely that the mound-builders gathered berries. Maple sugar is another product of the state. Maple trees are found in great abundance and sugar camps are common even at the present day. There are evidences that the mound-builders were acquainted with the art of sugar-making. The study of the existence of effigies in the midst of sugar bushes is suggestive. We have found several groups so situated and have concluded that they marked the site of a sugar camp.

Two or three such localities have been visited. In each case the mounds were somewhat remote from any lake or river and were even remote from any permanent village site, but the number of the mounds would show that there had been a prolonged encampment. One group was situated three miles from Beaver Dam on land belonging to Mr. A. C. Drowne in the town of Oak Grove. The group consists of foxes, wild geese and other animals; the very animals which are represented at Horicon, ten miles east of the spot. The mounds are now nearly obliterated, so that we can furnish no map of them. However, another very interesting group is situated near the Milwaukee River, some three miles east of West Bend. Mr. L. L. Sweet first described this group, but he imagined that it was a fortification and so he called the mounds war clubs.

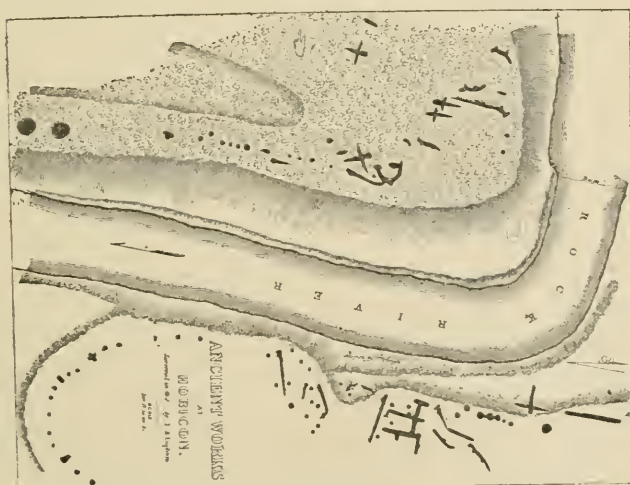
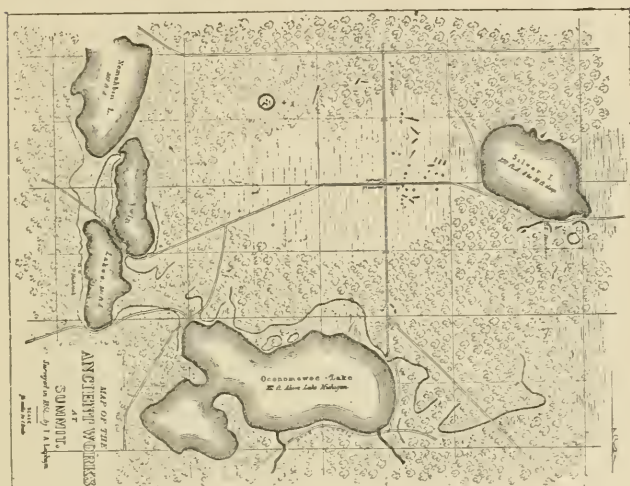
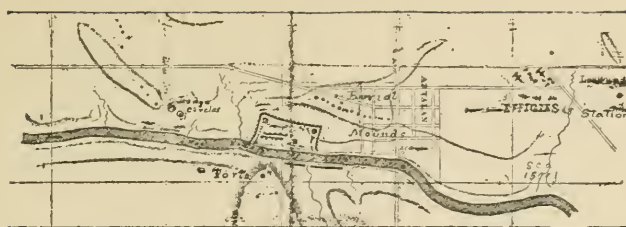
Our examination of the group proved that there was no fortification here. It is composed of fifty effigies, some twelve of them being squirrels; four of them wolves; two of them coons with the heads joined together; two panthers; two wild cats, in very natural attitudes; two crosses; a very well defined lizard or turtle; a serpent effigy, five hundred feet in length, and twenty oblong and several conical mounds. The effigies are crowded close together, and apparently without any order in their arrangement. They cover something over ten acres of land. They are in the midst of a grove of sugar maples, and convey the idea that they were erected by a people who had made an encampment there, and who had an abundance of leisure and amused themselves in this way. The author has taken some pains to study out the mounds to see if there was any resemblance between them and the totems of the clans adjoining. He has discovered that the squirrel effigy here resembled those on Lake Winnebago, west of this point. The coon effigy resembles those found at Sheboygan, to the east; the wolf effigy resembles those found at Milwaukee, to the south; but wild cats and crosses like these are not found anywhere else. It is possible that different clans made their encampments together at this place and erected their totems under the shadow of these grand old maple trees. The region is a favorable one, as there are swamps in the neighborhood which abound with wild animals, small lakes in which fish are numerous, and it is in close proximity to the head-waters of three streams which flow in different directions. The clans which dwelt at the points before mentioned had only to pass in their canoes up the rivers to the head-waters to find themselves near together. There are several other groups in this immediate vicinity; one a half a mile farther east, another three miles south on the opposite side of the Milwaukee river. These groups have the squirrel and the wolf and wild geese as representing the effigies. See Fig. 183, also 158.

We are not sure that this is a pictograph, but as the effigies

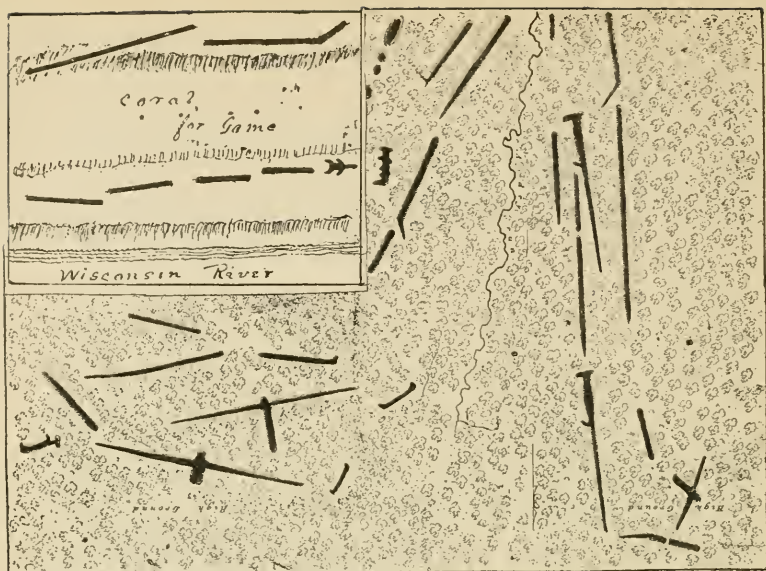
here are so similar to those found at the mouths of the rivers whose sources were here, we conclude that members of the different clans met here and erected their clan emblems, and in a sense made the group a tribal record. What is singular, however, is that the effigies in these districts correspond to the animals as well as to the clans. They were not all of them clan emblems, but were representations of the animals which inhabited the regions.

4. As to the products of the state there was a difference in different districts, each district having products peculiar to itself. We may divide the state into five or six districts, each with its own peculiar mounds which correspond to the products, and especially the animal products or life. These districts are as follows: 1. That along the shore of Lake Michigan. This was a forest region. 2. That along the Fox River of the south, where forests interspersed with prairie, forming what is called oak openings. 3. That along the Rock River and its tributaries which flowed through the center of the state, mainly prairies. 4. That along the Wisconsin River, and between the Wisconsin and Mississippi, mainly pine barrens, having a sandy soil, which was partly covered with stunted pine and black oaks, with an occasional sand-stone butte, rising above the surface covered with tall pine trees, and then sinking away into cranberry swamps and small streams covered with a jungle of elder-berry and fir. This is the region of the cranberry. 5. The southwest was a rocky region in which the dividing ridges were covered with prairies, but the coolies were filled with forest trees of different kinds. This is the region of the lead mines. Here the Niagara and Trenton limestone crops out and forms very precipitous bluffs between which the streams flow down in deep, narrow, tortuous channels, on either side of which the rocks rise suddenly. It is not so favorable for agriculture, and yet there are prairies on the highland which are rich and the valleys of the streams have a quick warm soil. For the native races this was as favorable a region as any. There was formerly here more variety of scenery than anywhere else.

5. In reference to the minerals, there are evidences that the resources of the state in the line of lead and copper and pipe stone were known to the aborigines and to the mound-builders, and that they either gathered these from the mines themselves, or had an aboriginal trade by which they secured them. It is known that the Indians did gather lead or galena from the mines of the southwest, and that this galena became a matter of traffic with them. There was also a traffic in steatite. There are pipe stone quarries in the northern part of the state. Some of the mound-builders' pipes were made from these. The copper relics found in the mounds may have been secured by traffic or made up from nuggets of float-copper, many of which are found in all



MAP OF EFFIGIES ON THE ROCK RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.



GAME DRIVES ON THE WISCONSIN RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

parts of the state. These mineral products of the state were known to the Indians, and it seems probable that they were known also to the mound-builders, though so far as the pipes are concerned it is uncertain whether any of them were used by the mound-builders, as very few relics have been found in the mounds, and very few pipes of any kind have been discovered in the state.

6. The location of the mounds will be understood from this review. We have in it a picture of the native life, with the scenery for its setting. The mounds are placed generally in localities where the means of subsistence are the most abundant, but we can generally determine the particular natural product which was sought for by the study of the effigies as related to the topography and natural scenery. There is scarcely a group of mounds which cannot be explained in this way. The map of the mounds should therefore be accompanied with the map of the country with the physical and the archæological peculiarities of each locality fully marked, so that the relation of the one to the other can be understood. There is a remarkable correspondence between the mounds and the topography. We learn from them not only the spots where there were villages and game-drives, but also the places where there were temporary encampments in sugar-bushes and near berry patches; we learn from them also not only where there were game-drives, but where the hunters watched for different kinds of animals, the animal indicating the game sought for and the character of the soil and scenery showing that it was the very place where that kind of animals had its haunts. We find that they spent much time in hunting, and that they resorted to the lakes and rivers, and here adapted their mounds to a system in hunting, and that they gathered from the swamps and wet places the wild rice, which grew so abundantly, and stored it away in caches, over which they placed mounds to protect it. We find also that they erected earth-walls along the edge of the swamps and bays and reedy lakes, and placed screens on these, from behind which they could shoot into the water-fowl which fed upon the wild rice.

The author has discovered lines of long mounds near the water's edge at White Lake, near Lake Mills, and not far from these effigies and burial mounds, the situation of the long mounds being such as to indicate that they were used as screens. There is also a long wall west of the group on the asylum grounds, north side of Lake Mendota. There are also long mounds on the east side of Pewaukee Lake, and near them a circle as if for an encampment or sweat-house, while on the hill about a mile away are turtle mounds. The discovery of mink effigies accompanied by lizards on the banks of a swamp in Sauk county by W. H. Canfield, would indicate that the mound-builders hunted for mink and built effigies of the same, and used

them as screens from behind which they could watch the mink in their own haunts. Fig. 195. The group of fish effigies spoken of situated upon Delavan Lake, would indicate that the mound-builders made permanent camps on the banks of the lake and then placed the effigies of the fish there. These facts are significant, as they show the connection between the employment and the religious custom or superstition.

There may, to be sure, at times come a little confusion into the mind from the presence of the clan emblems, as there are so many different kinds of animals imitated and these are so mingled with the emblems themselves. The study, however, of the locality will generally clear this up, as the topography will show whether it was a clan emblem or some animal which had its haunt in that particular place, was intended.

The study of the map illustrates these points. The general

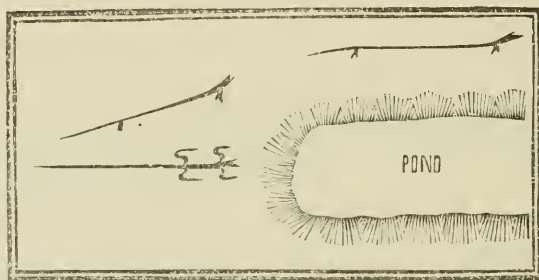


Fig. 195.—Mink and Lizard near Devil's Lake.

map shows the location of the clans, but the map of each district will show the places where each clan carried out its own mode of life. It appears that each clan erected its mounds to assist them in gaining a subsistence, the religion of the mound-builders being mingled with their every-day employment, and being an essential aid to their success in gaining subsistence.

We find that the people were partly agriculturists; that they raised corn and surrounded their corn-fields by mounds; that they had garden-beds, and at times surrounded their garden-beds by earth walls, on which were temporary fences. The study of the garden-beds is suggestive in this respect. These have been discovered in all parts of the state; at Indian fields near Milwaukee, at two or three points near Maysville, at one point near Racine, at one point near Sextonville in Richland County, at several points near Baraboo in Sauk County. Of these last Mr. Canfield says: "They are situated back in the country away from the streams. Here they cover large plats of ground varying from ten to one hundred acres. In the large plats the

beds are ranged in different rows, the paths following different directions, as if different families had their garden-beds together, but each family cultivated its own plat separately." Corn-fields are very numerous throughout the state; 'there is, however, some uncertainty about these, whether they are the work of the later Indians or of the effigy-builders. It is possible that both used the same fields; at least there are corn-fields at Lake Koshkonong, at Waukesha, at Milwaukee, at the Dells on the Wisconsin River, at Mauston, and various other points, in the midst of which there are effigies, showing that the effigy-builders occupied the same ground.

Here then we have our lesson. The effigy-builders were in the same condition with the majority of the northern tribes of Indians, including both the Dakotas and the Algonquins. The reason for assigning them to the Dakotas, or rather to the Winnebagoes, a branch of the Dakotas, is found in the fact that that powerful nation was situated just west of the region where the effigy-builders were located, and so would furnish protection to them from that side, while there were natural barriers to protect them on all other sides. The evidence is almost conclusive, and yet there is one more point which we shall consider before we close.

IV. The study of the local maps reveals to us not only the animals which were known to the effigy-builders, but also the haunts of these animals. We find from it that the animals were such as were common in the country at the time of the discovery, and were in fact the animals which the Indians hunted.

1. The fauna of the state is very instructive in connection with the subject. One of the most significant facts about the animal mounds is that they correspond so closely to the animals that are found in the region, and that their location is so near the very haunts of the animals. This is the case with all of the animals though it is not true of all the effigies, for we draw the distinction between the clan effigy and the ordinary imitative effigy. The correspondence holds good to the fur-bearing animals, to the grazing animals, the beasts of prey, to the amphibious creatures, to birds of different kinds, so that we may learn from the mounds themselves, not only about the habits of the animals, but about their resorts. In this way the mounds present us a remarkable picture of the animal life as it formerly existed; they also present a picture of the life of the people who built the mounds, and show very clearly that they were trained hunters, hunters who knew all about the animals and knew all about the animals and knew the best places to hunt for them. Illustrations of this will be seen in the different mounds. We first take up the mounds of the fur-bearing animals, especially those which resort to swamps and low places. Mr. W. H. Canfield has described a group of mounds consisting of mink and

lizards near Sauk City; these were situated in the immediate vicinity of a swamp or spring which was in all probability the resort of the mink. The same is true of a group in Summit. Dr. Lapham discovered here a turtle, fox and mink. We found them to be on the edge of a swamp once abounding with mink.

We here call attention to the lizard effigy, which is associated with mink at Baraboo. It here has two heads or possibly the effigy may be intended to represent the lizard with the mouth open. The same animal is represented with three legs, in the group given above. The lizard is associated here with birds, possibly a plover or a wading bird, and with coons which are represented in various attitudes. It seems impossible to determine the clan effigy at Baraboo. There are here mink, coons, buffalo and bear, as well as bird; and one seems to be about as prominent as another. This thing is noticeable, however, among the mounds, that the animals which are known to have frequented the region are represented by the mounds. This is a suggestive point.

We give here the cut of an elk which was surveyed and platted by Mr. W. H. Canfield. It shows how accurately the effigy-builders were able to imitate the shape of this animal. The location of the mound shows that the effigy was placed on the very spot where the elk were accustomed to feed, and that effigy-builders were true to nature in every respect. Fig. 186. The same is, however, the case with other animals, and especially

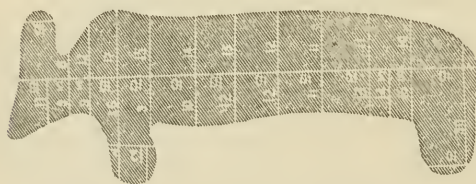


Fig. 186.—Elk in Sauk County.—Canfield.

the panther. The author has discovered an effigy of the panther near Madison, which not only represented the shape and attitude of the animal but even represented the disposition or mood, the immense claws of the panther having been so portrayed that they became the most noticeable feature in this effigy. This effigy is one of several which were connected with the game-drive near the Catfish bridge. It represents the panther as eager for its prey and as ready to pounce upon the animals which were driven through the game-drive.

It would seem as if the mound-builders were accustomed to use skins and fur robes, for there are many effigies of fur-bearing animals, such as the mink, panther, wolf, fox, weasel, beaver, otter, badger, wood-chuck, raccoon, skunk, bear, besides the wild deer, moose and elk, whose skins are valuable. These animals are found occasionally near where effigies were numerous at the time of the early settlement. The same is true of birds; the

effigies of prairie-chickens are found on the prairies, and those of the pigeons in the forests and openings.

As to the correspondence between the clan emblems and the animals which were most abundant in the locality, a few words should be said. This correspondence has been noticed in several places. To illustrate: The turtle is the clan emblem at Be-loit. Turtles are very common there, so common that Turtle Creek and Turtle Township are named after them. The same is true in Eagle Township. The name, the prevailing effigy and the topography would show that it is a place where eagles formerly abounded. At Big Bend and at West Bend there is the same correspondence, the region having been favorable for the panther in one place and the wolf in the other, both being in the midst of heavy forests. This would at first seem to work against the position that the effigies were clan emblems; but as we further consider it we might ask why the particular emblems should be used rather than others. The prairie chicken, the duck, the wild goose, are just as common as the turtle, panther and wolf, but they never are made the prevailing emblem. At least they never exclude other figures. We have a hint here as to the origin of the clan names. It would seem as if the habitat had been named, as well as the clan, and that the clans had been named after they had reached their permanent location, and that the animals of the locality had given the name and the emblem, the same custom prevailing in prehistoric times which is common in historic.

2. We first take up the localities. Effigies are found in all parts of the state of Wisconsin; but there are great differences between them, as they are mainly imitative of the animals which in all probability abounded in particular localities. What is more, they are situated near the very spots where these animals made their haunts. This correspondence between the mounds and the haunts of the animals is certainly worthy of notice. We have already said that the state was divided into five or six districts, each district having its own products or type of vegetation. But the correlation extends further than this. It is of course natural that animal life should be correlated to the vegetation; one class of animals would frequent the forests; another the prairies; another the marshes; another the barrens or openings, and still another the rocky regions where there are steep precipices and deep gorges; but that effigies should be so imitative of the habits of the animals that they should represent this fact is quite remarkable. It brings, however, an advantage to the zoologist as well as to the archæologist. The fauna of the state has greatly changed since its settlement by the white man, but we have a book descriptive of the fauna as it existed in the prehistoric times. It is found on the soil. We see the images of animals and we find that those images correspond to those ani-

imals which would very naturally resort to the particular region and become convinced that the book is correct in its record. The more we study the mounds the more we become convinced that they were true to life in all particulars, and that the shapes, attitudes, classification, habits and haunts can be learned from them. This might seem to conflict with what has been said about the mounds being clan emblems, but both may be true. They do represent clan emblems, but they also represent the animal life. The human life and animal life seems to have been closely associated, as they always are in the hunter state. Everything about the mound-builders proved them to have been hunters. Mr. Horatio Hale says that the Dacotahs were great hunters. Be that as it may, we are convinced that the mound-builders were that, at any rate. We propose to show the correspondence between the mounds and the haunts of the animals.

3. The grazing places are first to be considered. It appears that the state formerly abounded with elk, moose, caribou and buffalo. The point which we want to bring out is that the haunts of these particular animals are made known by the mounds. There is a wonderful correspondence between the habits of the different grazing animals and the location of the mounds. The buffalo graze upon prairies; buffalo effigies are mainly found in prairie regions. The moose, on the other hand, frequents wild forests and rocky places, especially if there are lakes and rivers interspersed among the rocks and forests. It is remarkable that moose effigies are found in just such places; they are never found on prairies, but are always confined to those parts of the state where the high bluffs are broken by deep gulleys and where there are thick forests covering the steep hills and streams and deep gulleys amid the forest. The elk is, on the other hand, an animal which both feeds upon the prairies and makes its resort in low places. Elk effigies are numerous in the western part of the state. It is singular that the game-drives which have elk effigies in connection with them are in just those places where elk would naturally roam. One such game-drive,* at Honey Creek, in Sauk County, has been described by Dr. Lapham. This was not an embankment placed there to guard the pass in the bluff, but it was a game-drive placed there to entrap the elk which might be driven down from the prairies toward the Wisconsin river. We have visited the spot and found the look-outs from which the hunter could look over the prairie and watch the droves as they came down toward the river, and have traced the very road-ways or elevated graded lines along which the hunters would run to give notice of the approach of the game. Another game-drive formerly existed on the south side of the Wisconsin river. This is given in the cut taken from a

*See Lapham's *Antiquities*, Plates XLIII, XLIV, XLVII, by Dr. Lapham.

drawing furnished by Mr. W. H. Canfield. There are effigies of elk in nearly all game-drives where elk were hunted. Most mounds are destitute of the branching horns; they are built with a single protruberance to represent the horns, but in this case, described by Mr. Canfield, the horns are divided and even the branches are represented. See Fig. 187. The following are the places



Fig. 187.—Elk and Moose on Wisconsin River.

where elk mounds have been discovered: On the Kickapoo river, sec. 6, T. 8, R. 5; two groups on the Wisconsin river, sec. 5, T. 10, R. 7; near Honey Creek Mills, T. 9, R. 6; near Kingston, Secs. 9 and 16, T. 10, R. 6; also Sec. 28, T. 8, R. 7, Sec. 2, T. 8, R. 4.

The moose is an animal which has peculiar habits. We have found several effigies of the moose, one in the neighborhood of the elephant mound, and have traced out the various game-

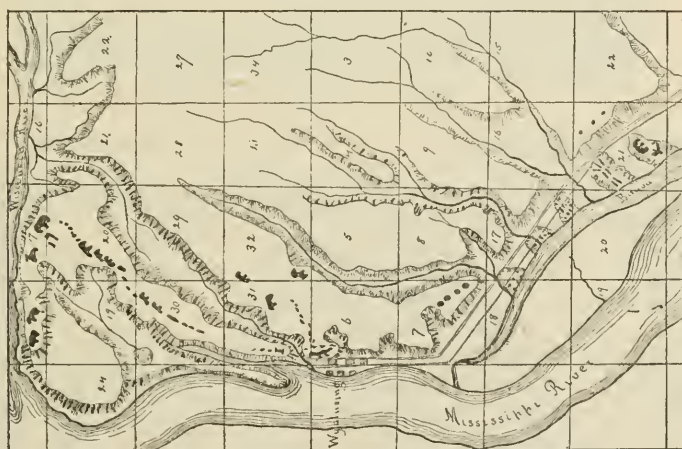


Fig. 188.—Map of Works on the Bluffs above the Elephant Effigy.

drives which were erected for the hunting of the moose. These consist of long lines of elevated walls or run-ways intermingled with the mounds of the bear, which was the clan emblem of the region, also with mounds of the caribou and the buffalo. These lines run along the summit of the narrow bluffs for miles; they

are broken at times by intervals, but they generally begin at lookouts and end with lookouts, and show that they were designed for the use of hunters. We think the so-called elephant mound was nothing but a mound of a gigantic moose or possibly of an elk. We have found that there was a relation between

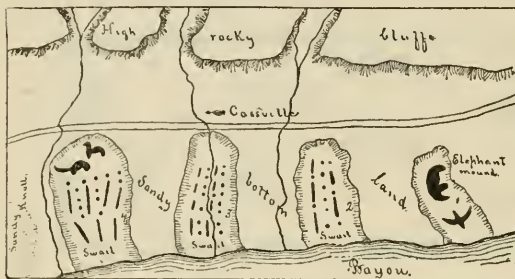


Fig. 189.—Groups Adjoining so-called Elephant Effigy.

the mounds on the bluff and those groups on the bottom lands, and our explanation is that the animals were driven through the coolies down to the bottom lands and between the parallel mounds on the bottom land toward the the river. We present two maps to illustrate this point. One shows the mounds on the bluffs and the other mounds on the bottom lands. See Figs. 188 and 189. We present also the cut of a moose on the bluff, three miles north of the elephant. See Fig. 190; also Fig. 188, Sec. 32.

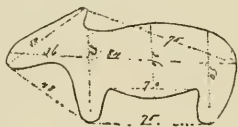


Fig. 190.
Moose near Wyalusing.

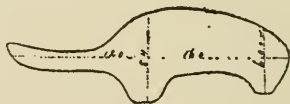


Fig. 191.—Mastodon or Coon?

The effigy which is seen in the cut Fig. 191 was discovered by the author while exploring the elephant effigy. It was at first taken for a mastodon, but by simply reversing the figure it was easily seen that the figure was that of some other animal, probably a coon, though the tail does resemble the tusk of the mastodon. This shows how easily one can be mistaken, especially if he has a theory to carry out.

There are other grazing animals besides the moose and the elk, namely, the deer, antelope and buffalo. These are more migratory in their habits, and the result is that the mounds are more widespread. We have discovered the effigies of the buffalo at Beloit (see Fig. 192), at Merrill's Springs, near Madison (Fig. 193), and at certain points in Grant county (see Fig. 183); they were all near prairies and at the same time were associated with

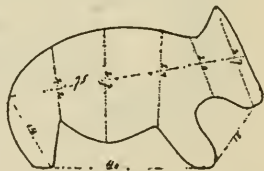


Fig. 192.—Buffalo at Beloit.

buffalo game-drives. We have discovered also deer effigies; two at Green Lake, one associated with the squirrel, which is the clan emblem, and the other associated with two bear effigies (see Fig. 194); both of these represent the attitude, the fleetness, even the timidity of the deer. Another deer emblem was found in Eagle township, evidently in the midst of a game-drive. Fig. 195. Near this was the eagle whose wings were so much extended, and a little further away was the group of eagles which may have been designed for a sort of corral where the animals were watched as they were grazing. The

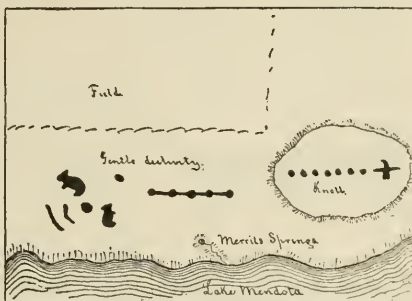


Fig. 193.—Buffalo at Merrill's Springs.

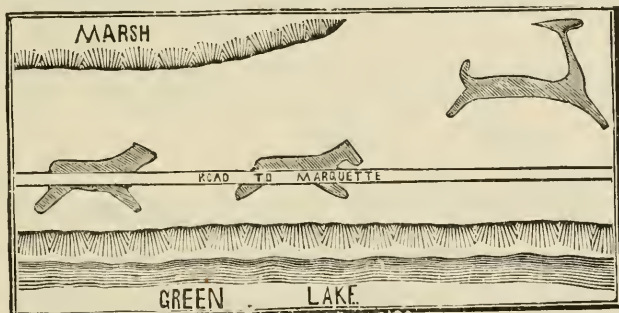


Fig. 194.—A Deer Chased by Bear

deer effigies are generally found in the open places in the forests or beside streams and in rocky places, in the very localities where

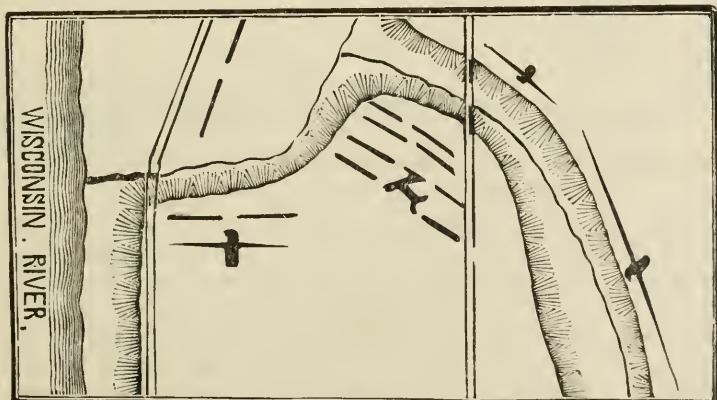


Fig. 195.—Deer in Eagle Township.

deer have their run-ways. The deer is generally represented as

running near water, either as just emerging from the water, or running toward the water or alongside of the water. In most cases the trap or game-drive is on the bank which the deer approaches. See Fig. 196.

4. The location of the game-drives can be ascertained from a study of the maps. The game-drives were not all in parallels; they were sometimes made by placing the effigies at an angle, either with their heads together or their tails together, as is the case at Milwaukee. See Fig. 158. They are frequently made with single lines of long mounds and round

mounds, with a lookout at some point near by, as is the case in the ancient works on the Wisconsin river, described by Dr. Lapham, Section 5, Town. 10, R. 7 E.; also on southeast quarter of Section 5, two distinct localities.* See Fig. 81. The game-drives were placed on the summit of the hills or at the gaps and openings between the bluffs, or along the side of the bluffs, near overhanging cliffs, or

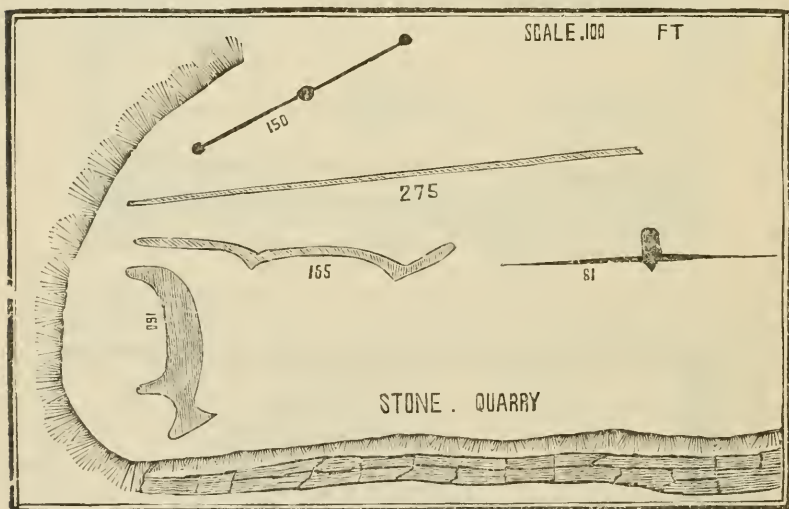


Fig. 197.—Mink and Elk at Stone Quarry, Madison.

beside the streams and marshes, or on the narrow necks of land, between marshes or on the banks of the lakes, or in parallel lines running towards the lakes. They always show the habits of the animals; they give to us the picture of scenes which were once familiar, which will never come back again. The elk, buffalo and deer were driven by hunters into the water and could be seen swimming across the lakes, and be shot by other hunters

*For game-drives see Figs. 2, 3, 34, 46, 56, 59, 81, 118, 119, 129, 137, 139, 150, 158, 172.

as they would emerge from the water. They would run across the summit of high bluffs and would there be entrapped (see Fig. 197), or along by the side of the bluffs and would there be shot at by the hunters from the screens that were there provided, or would pass down into their feeding-places and would again be in the midst of screens and ambushes. Everywhere throughout the country provisions were made for shooting into the unwary game, and it would seem as if there was a constant contest between the hunters and the animals, but that the hunters were very skillful in tracking out the haunts and runways of the animals and providing game-drives for them. The author has seen these game-drives in many places, but is not able to describe them all. One of them is situated on the east side of Lake Wau-besa; others on the west side of Green Lake, and others on the Wisconsin river. Mr. W. H. Canfield has also described several



Fig. 198.—Wild Geese near Cemetery, Madison—Peet.

groups of long mounds situated in Sauk County. One of them on N. E., S. E., Sec. 19, T. 9, R. 5 E., contains figures of eagles, bear, elk, foxes, as well as long mounds. Another situated on N. E., N. W. quarter of Sec. 14, T. 9, R. 5 E., consisting of long mounds without figures. Another group on Secs. 9 and 16, T. 10, R. 6 E., in Sauk County, is composed of a row of figures and round mounds, consisting of mink, wading birds, eagles, elk and coons, near a marsh. This is a game-drive over 3,000 feet long. Mr. Moses Strong also speaks of one near Cassville which was two miles long.

There is one thing to be said about the different kinds of game: The game-drives were built differently for each kind. Those for the moose and elk are mainly elevated road-ways on the hills connected with the parallel walls in the bottom lands. Those for the deer are arranged along the banks of smaller streams and lakes; and are sometimes so arranged that the deer can be shot at as they emerge from the water. The mounds are scattered along the edge of the water, so as to give as many shooting places as possible. Game-drives for buffalo are on the banks of rivers near fords, and so arranged that the hunters could shoot into the herds as they passed down the banks. Illustrations

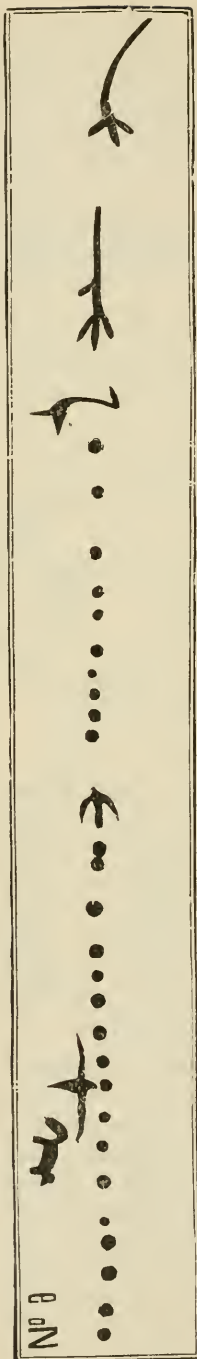


Fig. 199.—Group of Effigies; Wading Birds at Baraboo—Catsfield.

tion of the first class can be found in Grant county; of the second at Mill's Woods and the Catfish; of the third at Beloit and at Indian Ford. (See Figs. 36, 46, 56, 81, 118, 119, 120, 199, 200, 201; also Diagrams V, XVI, and XVII.) There are occasionally groups of mounds on the banks of lakes, the object of which is unknown. It is probable, however, if we understood the habits of the animals we should understand the reasons for the location of them. To illustrate, on the north shore of Lake Mendota, we find a long series of emblems, consisting of panthers, eagles, foxes and other animals. These are arranged on the side of the hill which slopes toward the water, but have passage-ways between them. It is possible that they were designed as screens from behind which hunters could shoot into the animals as they came up out of the water. It is noticeable in this case that the prey-gods, such as the eagle, hawk, panther, wolf and fox, are placed on this side of the lake, while the buffalo emblems are on the other side. See map of works on Asylum grounds. Diagram XVIII.

5. The study of the map with regard to the haunts of the birds is instructive. There are certain birds whose effigies are everywhere found. These are the wild goose, the hawk, the pigeon, the eagle and duck. The following are the places where we have seen the wild goose: On the Milwaukee river at two places, Milwaukee and West Bend. On the Rock river at several places, at Lake Koshkonong, Horicon lake, on Green lake, in the Four Lake region. One group at Madison has two wild geese and two wolves; this is situated near the cemetery. See Fig. 198. The pigeon is seen at Madison and Mauston, where it is probably the clan emblem, and at many other places. These are all birds which have migratory habits; there are certain other birds which are more limited in their range, namely the loon, swan, crane, plover, and heron. There are few emblems of the swan; there is

one near Summit, and another one in Sauk County. Mr. W. H. Canfield has represented a group in which there are several mounds of birds associated with raccoons: these were probably wading birds, as they were represented with one leg and long necks. See Figs. 199, 200 and 201. The coons were in a very natural attitude. This has been referred to above.



Fig. 200.—Coon near Kingston.

6. There is another point to be taken up in this connection. The peculiar disposition of the animals whether shy or bold, gregarious or solitary, is brought out by the mounds, the location being as significant as the mound itself. The following are the animals which are timid, and whose timidity is shown by

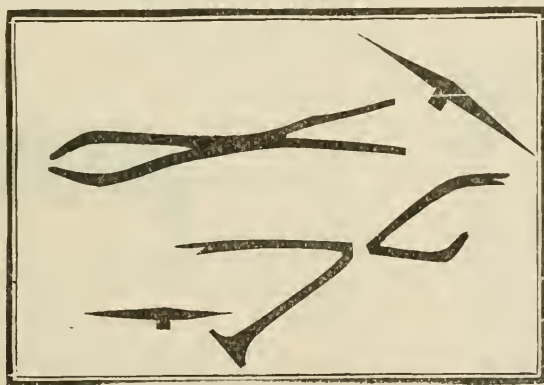


Fig. 201.—Trap for Game near Baraboo.

the mounds: The rabbit or hare, the antelope, the beavers. Effigies of the rabbit may be seen, one on Lake Wingra and another on Fox Lake. See Fig. 202. Effigies of the antelope may be seen at Lake Horicon, at Lake Waubesa, (see Diagram 5, No. 3,) and at Mayville. The animals, on the

have, for instance, on the south shore of Lake Monona a pair of panthers, male and female. The figures are on a wooded hill overlooking the lake. See Fig. 77. Two other panthers are seen at Ripley Lake. These were not mates, but a mate is a little

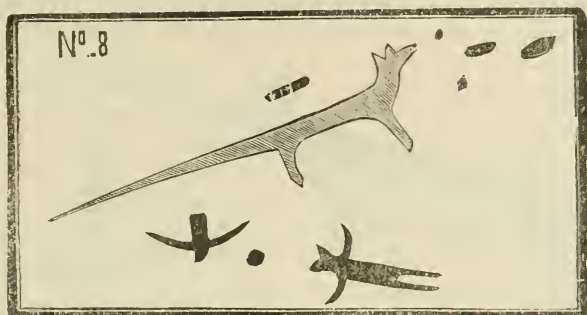


Fig. 203.—Fox and Man Mound at Baraboo.

distance off; and they seem to be in conflict, while the mate stands a little distance off alone. See Fig. 76. Two panthers in conflict may be seen at Beloit, but the mate is lacking from the group. See Fig. 160. Buffalos which are mates are seen in effigies at several places, at Beloit, at Green Lake, (see Fig. 176)

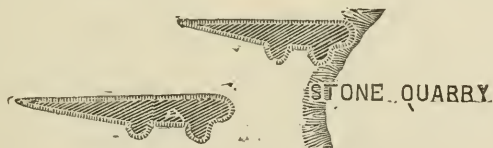


Fig. 204.—Wolf at Waukesha.

and at Lake Monona. See Fig. 167. Wolves which are mates are also seen at the following places: At Waukesha (see Fig. 204) and Lake Ripley. Ordinarily wolves are either in droves, as at West Bend (see Fig. 205), or are mingled with other animals; occasionally, however, the wolf is solitary, as at Hazen's

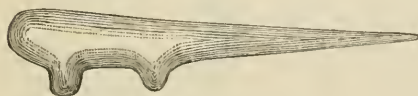


Fig. 205.—Wolf at West Bend.

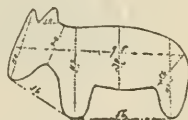


Fig. 206.—Bear at Hazen's Corners.

Corners, in Crawford County. The bear is sometimes seen alone, but is oftener in pairs. There are two bears at Hazen's Corners. See Fig. 206. There are also two bears on the Glenn place, in Grant County. Diagrams 1 and 2, At Blue Mounds there are also two bears. Fig. 34. In this same locality there are two foxes or wolves, probably mates. Fig. 11. Near this place there

is a row of figures of several animals, all of them alike; but it is uncertain whether they are bears, buffalos or wild-cats. Fig. 38. The elk is sometimes represented singly, as at the stone quarry near Madison. Fig. 197. It is oftener, however, seen in droves, as at Kickapoo river. Here there are three elk and four hawks, the elk being in droves and the hawks in flocks. Fig. 3.

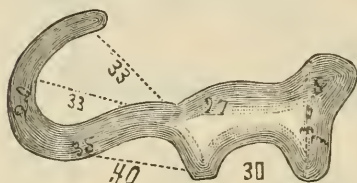


Fig. 207.—Skunk near Horicon.

At Honey Creek, however, there are only two elk and two hawks Fig. 99. The squirrel is a very gregarious animal. Squirrels are very seldom seen alone; generally several figures of them are seen together. To illustrate: At Lake Winnebago there are twenty-five effigies situated on the summit of a bluff. Of these

eleven are squirrels. At Green Lake there are thirty effigies, of which twelve are squirrels. At West Bend there are about fifty effigies; some fifteen of them are squirrels. So in the group on the Wisconsin river, Sec. 5, T. 10, R. 7, there are six figures, one of them being an elk, two of them birds, two squirrels. The only places where the squirrel is seen alone is in the group near Wyalusing and in the small group near Neponauk club house, on the north side of Lake Puckaway. See Fig. 159. The difference between the squirrel and the skunk can be ascertained by this circumstance. An effigy of the skunk was discovered by the author between Horicon and Mayville. Fig. 207. It is one of a group composed of a turtle and a wolf; situated on a beautiful knoll and just covering the knoll. A flock of lambs were amusing themselves by following the tail of the skunk around and jumping off the knoll at the head. Another skunk was found near the cemetery at Aztalan. See Fig. 208. In both these cases the skunk was associated with turtles, but in a sense it was solitary, that is, without any other animal of the same kind. The coon is generally seen in droves, several of them being found in the same group. This is the case at Baraboo and Sheboygan Falls. Fig. 200.

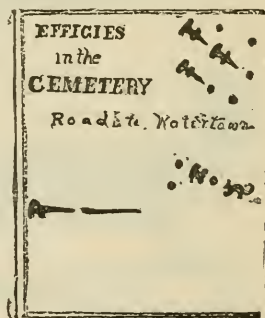


Fig. 209.—Skunk and Turtle at Aztalan.

As for the birds, they are generally represented according to their habits. The eagle being a solitary bird, is frequently seen alone; and yet there are groups where two eagle effigies are seen together, as at Sec. 5, T. 10, R. 7, (Fig. 209), and even five or six as at Honey Creek Mills, and at Waukesha. (Fig. 62); but the prairie chicken is always represented as in flocks. Fig. 83. Such

is the case at least at Big Bend (see Fig. 139) and at Waukesha (Fig. 136). Pigeons generally fly in flocks. There are two groups at Mauston, in one of which there are four pigeons and one in which there are three. Turtles are frequently seen together, either in pairs or in one group (see Fig. 210), but the

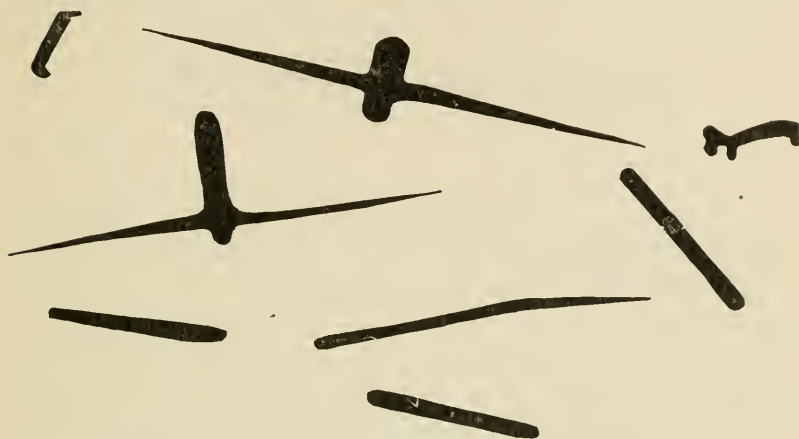


Fig. 209.—Eagles near Honey Creek, Sec. 5, T. 10, R. 7.—Canfield.

lizard, on the other hand, is always solitary. Such is the case at Koshkonong (Diagram 3), Sauk Prairie and Beloit (Fig. 86), and several other places. The beaver and muskrat are generally solitary, as is the moose, the she-wolf, and the musk-rat. Of the birds, the owl and the swan are solitary, but the duck and the wild geese are always gregarious. The frog is an animal we would suppose that would be represented as associated with other frogs, but it is an exception. Frog effigies are quite rare and



Fig. 210.—Turtles at Beloit.



Fig. 211.—Frog at Wisconsin River.

are generally solitary. We give a figure of one from Wisconsin river; another can be seen at Beloit. Fig. 211.

8. The study of the map with regard to the fishing grounds is suggestive. The effigies of the fish are somewhat common on the banks of the lakes, and they always show where the best fishing is and where the best kind of fish may be caught. To

illustrate: Delavan lake is celebrated for the abundance of pickerel. On the other hand, at Lake Koshkonong the pickerel is mingled with catfish, suckers, bass and other kinds. There are effigies of catfish on the east side of Lake Koshkonong. There is also another effigy which we take to be a fish, though what kind it is impossible to tell. See Fig. 212. There is

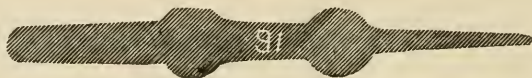


Fig. 212.—Fish on East Side of Lake Koshkonong.

also a large group of fish effigies on the west side. The Four Lake region is celebrated for its fishing. There are several effigies of fish in this region. We give a cut of one on the east end of Lake Monona. Fig. 213.

9. There is another point to which we would call attention, viz: The correspondence between the names of rivers, lakes and townships, to the animal effigies found in the vicinity. How is it to be accounted for? Some might think that there was a naming of modern localities from the effigies; but the fact is that there are very few places, only two or three in all the state, which are named from the mounds; these are Moundville and Nine Mound Prairie. A better explanation is that the names are taken from the abundance of certain animals in the region, and that these animals were following out the law which is very common in the animal kingdom; they were the descendants of the animals which abounded during the time of the mound-builders, and which remained in the same haunts which these had occupied. There are a few cases where the name is taken from an Indian tribe; the Fox river taken from the Fox Indians, Black Hawk's island from Black Hawk, the celebrated chief; but most of the animal names, such as Fox Lake, Swan Lake, Duck Lake, Turtle Creek, Bear Creek, Elk Lake, Wildcat, Otter and Wolf River, and other names like these were undoubtedly taken from the presence of such animals during the time of the early settlements. It is a singular fact that some of these animals abound in the same localities, even at the present time. What is more, effigies of these animals are also found in the same region; turtle effigies on Turtle creek, Fox effigies on Fox lake, duck effigies on Lake Wingra (or duck), eagle effigies in Eagle township.

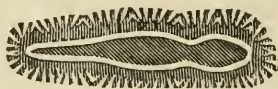


Fig. 213.—Fish at Lake Monona.

V. We now come to the most important point of all, the map of the clans. We have in previous papers discussed the

question whether the clans could be recognized by the emblems and boundaries could be described or defined. We are now to take up the question whether the different clans can be located on the map. What we have said about the isolation of the state, its compactness, its resources and its fauna or former animal life, has only prepared the way for this subject. We are to study the emblems in their locations, and to see whether the map of the clans can be made out from them. We give here the location of the clans which we have identified, with the extent of the boundary of each and the emblem of the clan: The panther clan at Big Bend, and extending to Racine in one direction and to Burlington on the other: the raccoon clan at Milwaukee, extending to Sheboygan on the lake shore and West Bend on the Milwaukee river; the squirrel clan at Green Lake, extending to Lake Winnebago on one side and Lake Puckaway on the other; the mink clan at Baraboo, extending to Moundville, in Columbia county, and into Dane county; the eagle clan at Eagle township, extending to the Dells of the Wisconsin on the northeast and into Dane county on the east, and into Sauk Prairie on the north, where it mingles with the mink clan; the pigeon clan at Mauston, extending east and west along the Lemonweir river; the swallow clan at Prairie du Chien, extending into various parts of Crawford county; the bear clan in Grant county, whose emblem was so frequently mingled with the buffalo; the bear clan near Blue mounds, extending from there to the Four Lake region; the turtle clan at Beloit, with limits extending southward to Rockford and the mouth of the Kishwaukee river, where effigies of a turtle have been recently discovered.

All these clans have been identified by the mounds and their boundaries to a certain extent traced out. The method of determining the name or emblem of the clan has been to visit all of the groups in the locality, to make a map of the region, and then count up the mounds of a particular class. Where one effigy seems to be predominant and all others are subordinate to it, it has seemed probable that this one was the clan totem. In order to make it certain, the ground is passed over again, and the purpose of each group is fixed upon so far as possible by the study of the topography. In many cases it has appeared that the same mound was placed around villages and near game-drives and as lookouts as well as burial places. In such cases it has been taken for granted that the name of the clan was determined by the mound.

These are clans which seem to have been very extensive, as the effigy which indicates their name or totem is seen in many different places. As a general thing the extent of each clan is about the same, being equal to about two ordinary counties on the modern map; this would make the extent about fifty miles in length and from thirty to forty in breadth.

The clan emblems have been identified with a certainty at the following places: At Beloit, at Green Lake, at Big Bend, at Eagle Township and at Prairie du Chien. The case is very plain. At the latter place the swallow is the clan emblem. It is everywhere present. It is present with the buffalo-drives, near bear effigies, and in connection with wolf effigies, but it so preponderates that there is no mistake about it. We give a cut to illustrate the point. See Fig. 214. The following are the clans whose emblems have been partially identified, but concerning which there is some uncertainty: the bear or buffalo in Grant County; the panther in the Four Lake region; the wolf or coon at Milwaukee; the wolf or squirrel at West Bend; the squirrel on Lake Winnebago.

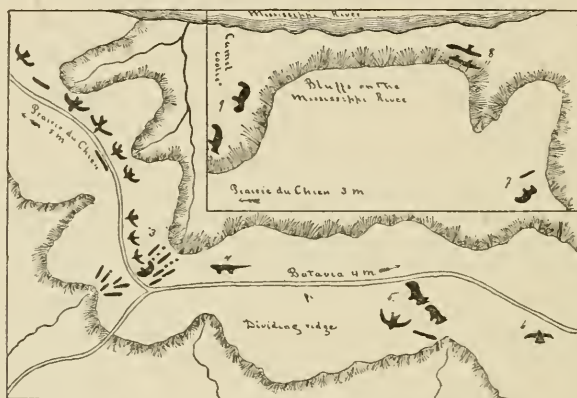


Fig. 214.—Swallows used as Clan Emblems at Prairie du Chien.

It sometimes seems that there had been a removal of clans; those on the lake shore having been moved over to the Wisconsin river. This will account for the mingling of clan emblems. It will also be in accord with the history of the Winnebago Indians.

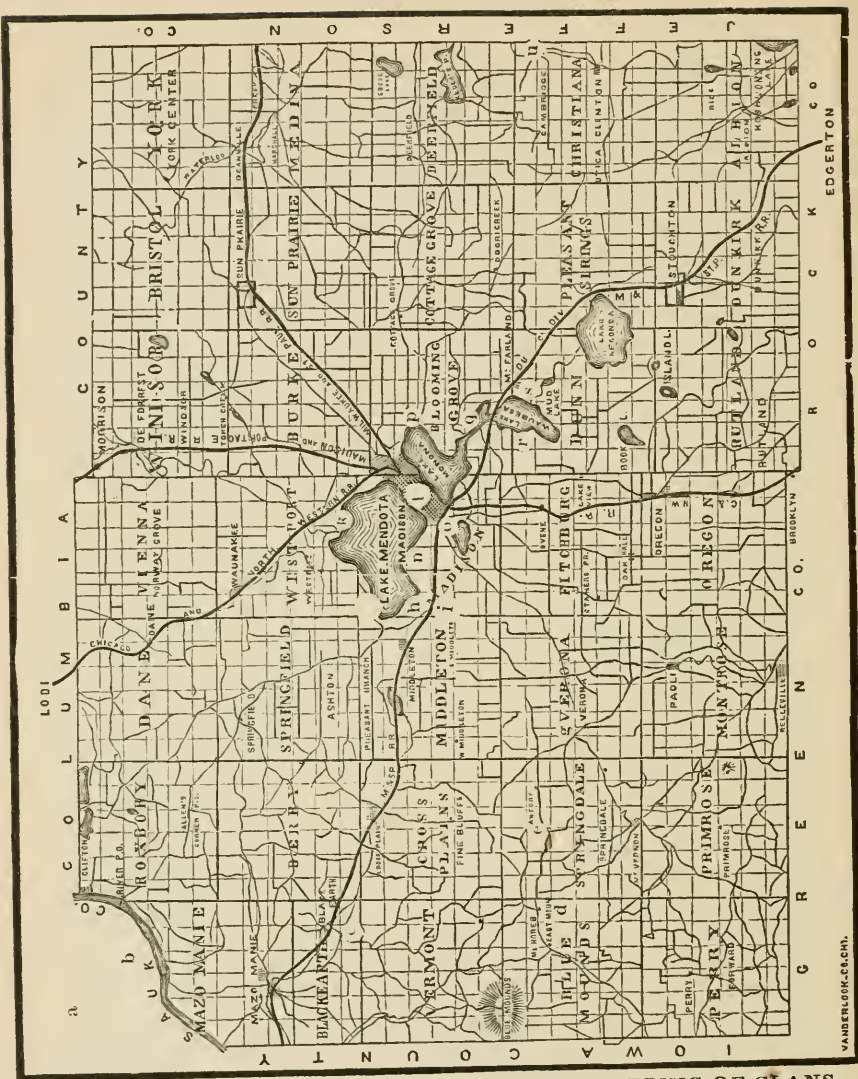
In some cases the preponderance of the clan emblem is so striking that there can be no doubt, but in other cases the emblems are mingled with other effigies, so as to make it somewhat difficult to determine which was the clan emblem and which was not. In such case the only way is to study the topography and the groups. In all of the cases that we have mentioned above the case is clear; the emblem was so numerous as to prove the point.

We seem to have reached a certainty in regard to some clans. There are, however, a few clans concerning which there is more uncertainty. They are clans which from their situation are less isolated and are more liable to have the emblems of the adjoining clans intruded upon their territory. We have already spoken of one of these localities—West Bend, but there are

several others. At West Bend we have recognized the emblems of three clans, those at Milwaukee, Sheboygan and Fond du Lac. Being situated upon the headwaters of the Milwaukee river and on the water-shed between the rivers that flow into Lake Michigan and those that flow into Lake Winnebago, it was easily reached, and so became a common camping ground or visiting place for the different clans.

The same is true at Lake Horicon; this was situated in the midst of several other lakes, Lake Winnebago to the north, Green lake to the northwest, Fox lake and Beaver Dam to the west, Pike lake to the east and Mud lake to the south. It was in the midst of the clans which had their residence on those lakes. It is a place favorable for hunting and fishing, and judging from the number and variety of effigies, it is the place where the different clans assembled and followed those pursuits together. The names of the clans which gathered here are unknown; but we have in the groups which are found here the following effigies as predominant: the squirrel, which is the clan emblem of the region to the north and northwest; the fox, which seems to have been the clan emblem of the region to the west, and the wild goose, which seemed to have been the emblem common in the region to the east. Of the clans actually resident here there is uncertainty, as the number and variety of the emblems are so great that it is impossible to tell which belonged to the occupants and which to the visitors. Dr. Lapham has spoken of this region and of the large number of effigies. He says that "the most extensive and varied groups and the most complicated and intricate works are at Horicon. There are about 200 ordinary round mounds in this neighborhood. There are sixteen mounds of the cruciform variety, like that of the mounds on the Milwaukee river, wild goose: the animal form, fox, is repeated seven times; it may represent the otter." We have discovered in this region several other foxes and two or three wild geese. We discovered also several squirrels, and count on Dr. Lapham's plate four or five squirrels. At Mayville, situated some four or five miles from Horicon, there are several more squirrels, two foxes, two wild geese. We conclude that this was a place where the clans gathered and mingled their emblems together. It shows that the clans were friendly and that they were accustomed to pass from one lake to another and were not excluded by the clan boundaries. See Diagram XVIII.

There is the same uncertainty in regard to the clan resident at Madison, as this was a place where different clans assembled. That there was an overlapping of the emblems from other clans here will be shown from the map of Dane county, which is given herewith. On this map we shall find the groups at the following places, with the effigies as follows: At Lake Koshonong on the east side, with the panther as the prevailing effigy



MAP OF DANE COUNTY, SHOWING THE OVERLAPPING OF CLANS.

- A—Effigies at Honey Creek Mills, eagles.
- B—Game-drive at Honey Creek, panthers and crane.
- C—Group at Black Earth, eagle.
- D—Effigies near Blue Mounds, bears and man mound.
- E—Effigies at Nine Mound Prairie, wolves.
- F—Effigies ten miles west of Madison, foxes.
- G—Group at Merrill's Spring, buffaloes, eagles, etc.
- H—Group at Cemetery, wolves and wild geese.
- I—Effigy on Capital Ground, turtle.
- J—Group at Stone Quarry, elk and mink.
- K—Group at Lake Waubesa, east side, badger.
- L—Group on Lake Waubesa, west side, beaver, antelope, wild geese.
- M—Group at Mill's Woods, turkeys, eagles, wild geese, pigeons, crawfish, war clubs, etc.
- N—Group on Lake Waubesa, east side, badger.
- O—Group on Lake Waubesa, west side, beaver, antelope, wild geese.
- P—Group at Mill's Woods, turkeys, eagles, wild geese, pigeons, crawfish, war clubs, etc.
- Q—Group on Lake Waubesa, east side, badger.
- R—Group on Lake Waubesa, west side, beaver, antelope, wild geese.
- S—Group at Mill's Woods, turkeys, eagles, wild geese, pigeons, crawfish, war clubs, etc.
- T—Group on Lake Waubesa, east side, badger.
- U—Group at Mill's Woods, turkeys, eagles, wild geese, pigeons, crawfish, war clubs, etc.

a group on the northeast side, at Ripley lake, with the panther, wolf and serpent (Fig. 219); in the northwest corner two groups consisting mainly of mink effigies; on the west side near Black Earth several eagles; in the southwest corner, on Nine Mound Prairie, three groups of bears and one of wolves. These mounds all show that the county* was overlapped by the clans situated in the adjoining counties, especially on the west side; by the bear clan at Blue Mounds, the eagle clan at Eagle Township, and the mink clan at Baraboo.

The clan resident at Baraboo is also uncertain. Here we have a great variety of effigies, such a variety that we can only account for it by the overlapping of clans, though there may have been a double clan here. See Figs. 215, 216 and 217.

Mr. W. H. Canfield has surveyed the mounds here, and has



Fig. 215.—Effigies near Manchester Mills, Baraboo.

made a map of them. In examining this map we find some six or eight groups in the immediate vicinity of the city; one of them consists of twenty-two effigies and sixty-five round mounds. This is situated north of the river, between the river and the fair ground. There are seven mink, two elk, three eagles, three panthers in this group. Another group south of the river, near the Manchester woolen mill; this contained one mink, and several serpent mounds. Another group consisting of a man mound and several round mounds is situated south of the river near the public school. Another group situated south of the river, opposite the brick-yard, consists of two mink mounds, one

*There are five bear effigies at Madison (Figs. 25, 32, 69, 70 and 72) and outside of Madison seven miles west two, (Fig. 34), and seven twenty-eight miles west (Fig. 13). There are seven panthers at Madison, (Figs. 87, 86, 168, 172, Diag. XVIII). Several east of Madison, at Lake Ripley (Fig. 76) and at Lake Koshkonong (Fig. 10). There are twelve eagle effigies at Madison (Figs. 12, 46, 147, Diagram XVIII), others west of Madison, at Honey Creek (Fig. 59), Honey Creek Mills (Fig. 83), the Dells (Fig. 85) and Muscoda (Fig. 166). There are two wolf effigies at Madison (Fig. 212) and two at Lake Ripley, east of Madison (Fig. 76). There are two fox effigies at Madison (Fig. 12, Diagram XVIII) and two ten miles west of Madison (Fig. 11). There are two mink effigies at Madison (Fig. 197 and Diagram XVIII) and some fifteen at Baraboo (Figs. 73, 184). There is one elk effigy at Madison (Fig. 197), but on the Wisconsin river there are ten or twelve (Figs. 159, 186). There is only one deer effigy at Madison (Diagram V., No. 3); on the Wisconsin river several, one on Sec. 19, T. 9, R. 5; one at Eagle Township (Figs. 195 and 196). There are four man mounds at Madison (Figs. 172, Diagram XVIII), but west of Madison there are several, near Devil's Lake, Sec. 28, Tp. 10, R. 7 (Fig. 220); in Sauk County, Sec. 36, Tp. 13, R. 3 E (Fig. 213 and 180), and also at Baraboo.

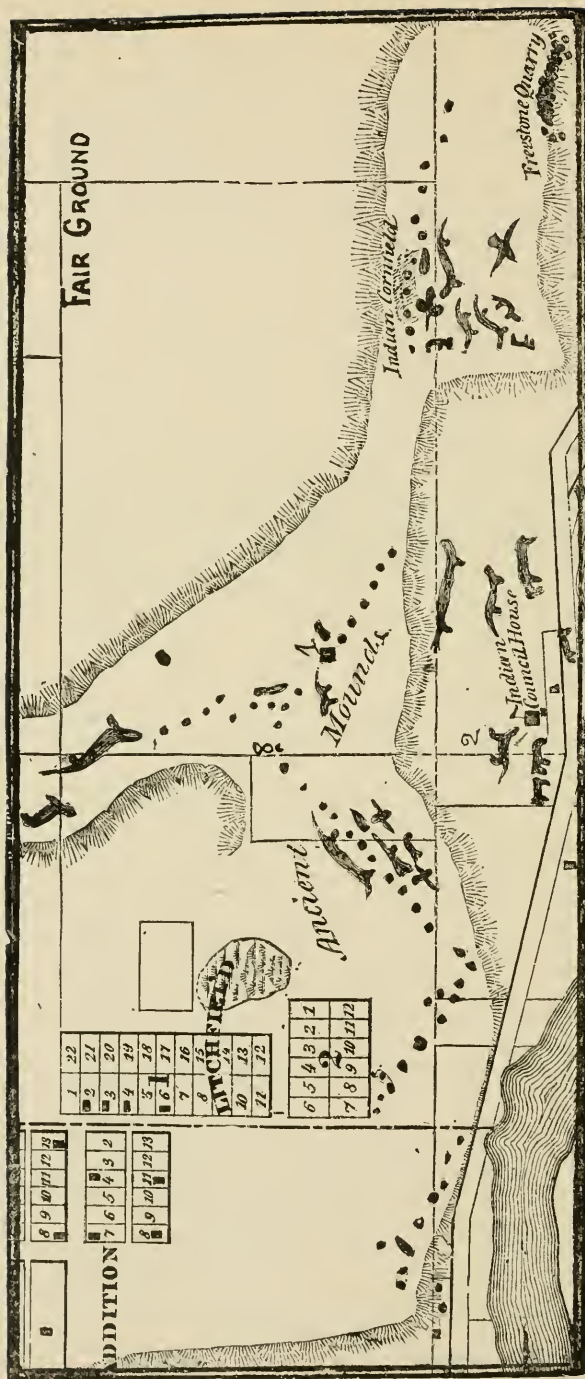


DIAGRAM XIX.—GROUP AT BARABOO, SHOWING CLAN EFFIGIES.

long serpent mound and several oblong. Another near the hub and spoke factory and saw-mill consists of two mink, one bear, one nondescript and several long mounds. Mr. Canfield says there were mounds on the banks of Devil's Lake, on the east side. We have discovered others on the west side near the passenger depot, on both sides of the railroad. (See map of works at Baraboo).

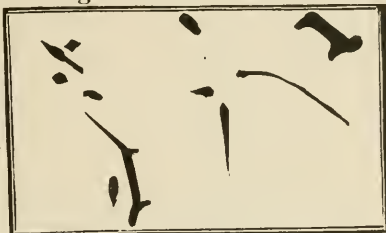


Fig. 216—Effigies at Baraboo, South Side.

Mr. Canfield also speaks of a group of emblematic mounds in the township of Sumpter—Sec. 9, Tp. 10, R. 6. This group contains six raccoons, three lizards, four birds, and two of the peculiar scissor-like figures.

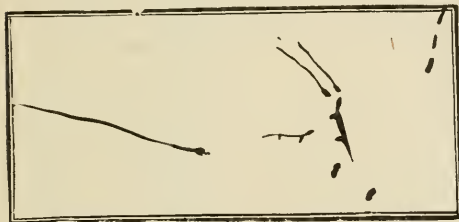


Fig. 217.—Effigies at Baraboo, Brick Yard.

Mr. Canfield speaks also of a group on Sec. 36, Tp. 13 N., R. 3 E. This contains a man mound, a bird and a fox; the fox mound is very long and large, being 30 rods long and 7 feet high. The man mounds in this vicinity are remarkable effigies. The one which was associated with the fox represents a man walking, with his hands raised; he seems to have a head-dress on. This mound is 220 feet long and sixty feet wide. Another man mound has the same kind of a head-dress, but represents the man walking, with his arms by his side. See Fig. 218. The one which we discovered in company with Prof. Putnam had no head-dress, but its arms are by the side the same as the one last described. This man mound had but one leg, but the lower part was in the street and was nearly obliterated, so that it is uncertain as to what shape it originally had. In summing up the whole number of mounds we find twelve mink, six coons, three eagles, three serpents, three man-mounds, three lizards and two



Fig. 218.—Man Mound at Devil's Lake.

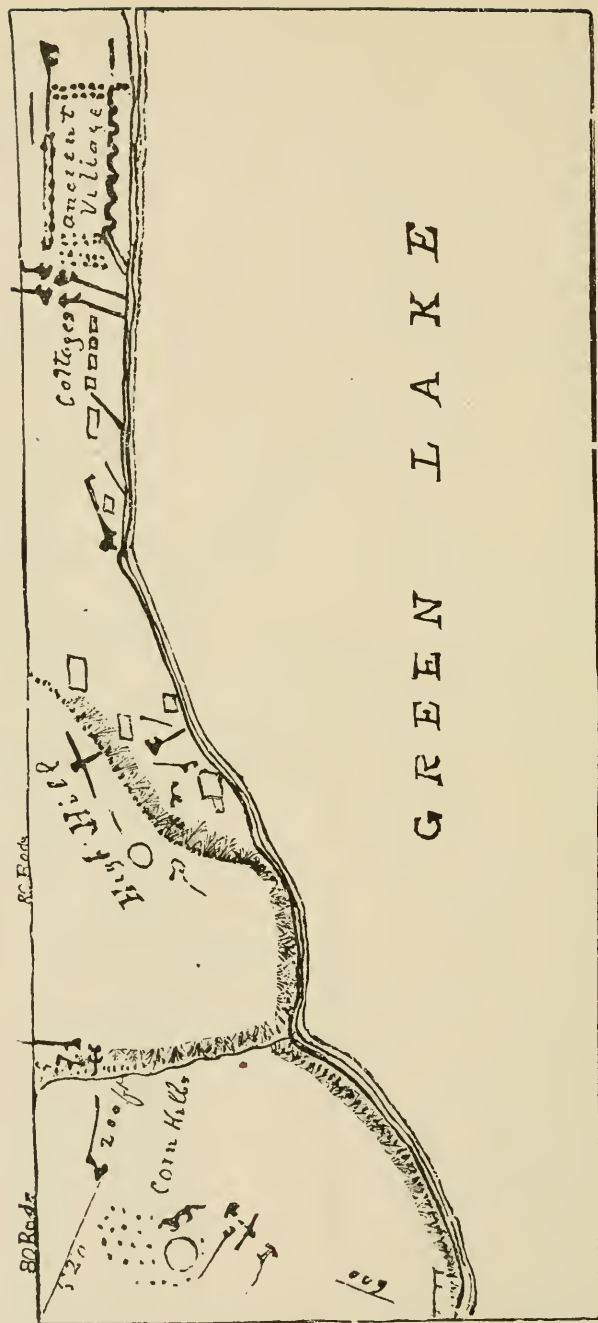


DIAGRAM XX.—Group at Green Lake, Showing Village and Dance Circle Guarded by Effigies.

elk. This gives the preponderance to the mink the same as the

different groups give the preponderance to the panther at Madison. We conclude that the mink was the clan totem in the region about Baraboo. In confirmation of this we would say Mr. Ira Buel has discovered a number of groups of effigies at Moundville and at Port Hope on both sides of the Fox river in Marquette County. Many of the mounds in this group, he informs us, are mink. Our explanation of this is that the mink clan which dwelt at Baraboo, extended across the Wisconsin river and found its boundaries somewhere on the Fox river, where it joined on to the habitat of the squirrel clan, which was located at Green Lake. We conclude, then, from this review of the mounds that the uncertainty in reference to the clan totems is not as great as was at first supposed. The more we study the subject the more thoroughly convinced have we become that the mound-builders were divided into clans, and that the primary use of the mounds was as clan emblems, the secondary use being designed to imitate the animals which abounded in the region.

An additional use, however, may be recognized in the fact that the effigies are so frequently found associated with burial mounds. There are, to be sure, many burial mounds which have no effigies near them, but there are again other groups where the effigies are so placed as to form a guard or protection to the burials. We have discovered two groups at Lake Koshkonong, one on the east side (see Fig. 220), and one on the west side. See also effigies at Madison, at Baraboo, and many other places. There

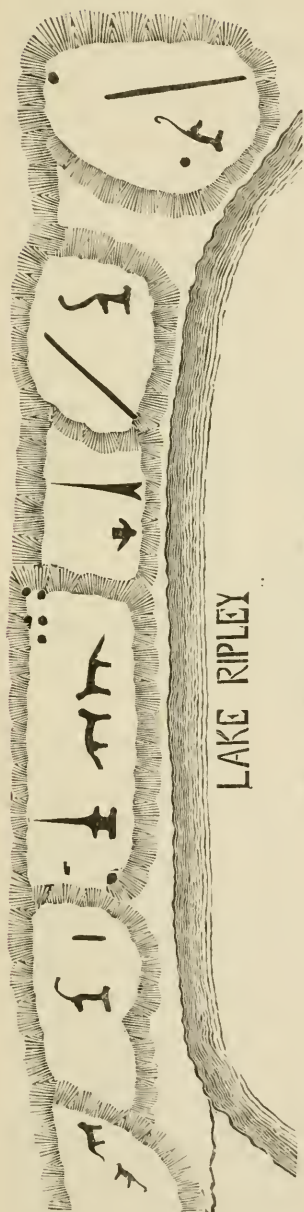


Fig. 219.—Wolf Effigies at Ripley Lake.

seemed to have been a great difference in the burial mounds, many of them having been built by modern tribes. Those which are guarded by effigies have proved to be more ancient than others, the bones generally being very much decayed and the relics being of an entirely different character.

Dr. Cyrus Thomas has spoken of many mounds which contained modern relics, but any one who has examined the location of these would easily see that they belonged to a different period from the effigies, nearly all of them being somewhat remote from effigies and in groups which had no relation to the clan emblems of the effigy-builders.

Still another reason for supposing that the emblems were used as clan emblems is found in the location of the effigies around the council-houses and garden beds. We have discovered sev-

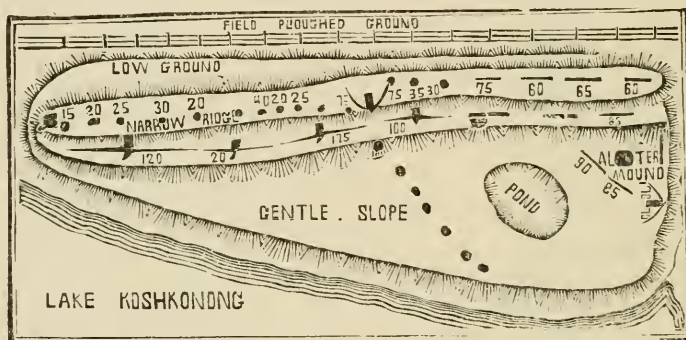


Fig. 220.—Burial Mounds Guarded by Effigies at Lake Koshkonong.

eral such groups, one at Green lake, one at Lake Koshkonong. One at Mayville represents garden beds guarded by a serpent, and Mr. W. C. Chapman has informed us about one near Merritt's Landing on the Fox river. Here was a group of effigies which surrounded a circle with an area of about two acres. The effigies were so arranged in pairs that no one could enter the enclosure without passing between them, the whole length of each being made as a guard to the gateways or openings, and the entrances all being at an angle to the enclosure. This use of the effigies reminds us of the medicine tents of the Mandans described by Catlin, and seem to convey the idea that there was a kind of picture writing or symbolism in the effigies as well as a protection from the clan emblem. See Fig. 221.

VI. We next come to the question of tribes and the combination of clans into one tribe. In examining the location of the emblematic mounds, especially as related to one another, we find that they were so intermingled that it is impossible to resist the impression that they were all the clans of one great tribe. The same impression is also gained from the study of the topography of the state. The state is apparently divided, as we

have said, into five or six districts, each of which is distinct so far as scenery and peculiarities of soil and natural products are concerned. All of these districts are, however, so joined together by the river system that it is impossible to separate them. There are four or five rivers which drain the state from different directions, namely, the Fox river to the north, the Rock river and the lesser Fox to the south, the Milwaukee river to the east, the Wisconsin river to the west; between these are smaller streams which intermingle their branches in such a way that there is scarcely any part of the state which is not brought into close connection with every other part by these water channels.

1. The fact is plain, that under the circumstances it would be almost impossible for different tribes to dwell together in the state, especially if they were hostile to one another. Even if they were at peace, it would be difficult for them to remain without clashing, inasmuch as the territory is so connected. But the re-

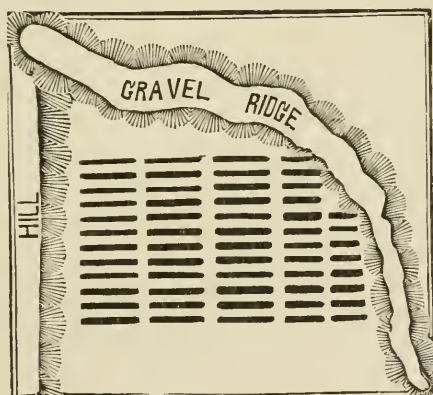


Fig. 221.—Garden Beds near Mayville Guarded by a Serpent Ridge.

gion, which is so unfavorable for separate tribal life, is especially favorable to the clan life. Clans are always sure to have some central place where the common council is held, even if they have separate villages and council-houses. Clans are in reality but divisions of the tribe and are like kindred; in fact they are akin to one another. Now we have the picture of tribal life in the map of the mounds. The central council-house was at Aztalan, the celebrated ancient city. Around this, the clans are arranged, each with its own territory, and with its own separate council-house and permanent village site. There were trails which led from the separate villages to the central village; at least there were trails in modern days, and the probability is that the same trails existed in the earlier days. The water-courses are also channels by which the central city could be reached. The number of the mounds at this central point is not so great as at points east and west, and yet the very absence

of any particular clan emblem at this point is in its favor. The residence of the clans seems to have been on the water-courses, but the rallying place was in the midst of them all, and yet perhaps in territory belonging to all rather than to any one.

There were, to be sure, villages among the clans, several having already been identified, the situation and relative grouping of the mounds proving that they were villages, but this enclosure at Aztalan differs from all the rest. We hardly believe that it was the village of an intruding people, but was probably the central capital for the tribe. The pyramids within the enclosure would prove that it was a sacred place as well as a place for assembly.*

2. Another reason for supposing that the clans all belonged to one tribe is found in the fact that there are so few provisions for defense in the state. This might be the case if the tribes belonged to a confederacy, but would be more likely to occur if they were the clans of one tribe. We have discovered but one battle field, that near Sextonville.

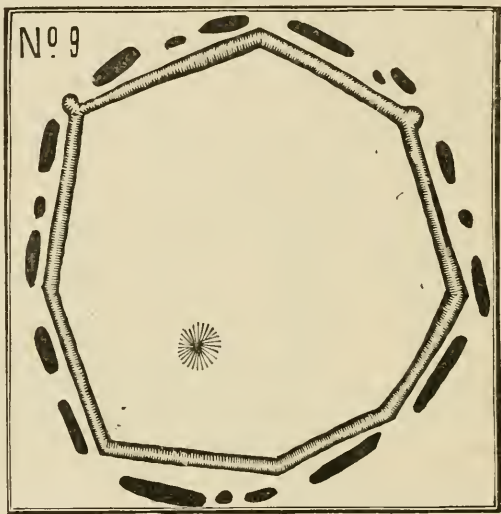


Fig. 222.—Fort near Dellona, Sauk County.

There are a few so-called forts in the state. Dr. Lapham has spoken of one or two near Milwaukee, another near Kilbourn City on the Wisconsin river. Mr. W. H. Canfield has spoken of another one on the Wisconsin river, near Sauk Prairie. See Fig. 222. This seems to have had bastions and a stockade; was about 250 feet in diameter. Within the octagon was a pit, resembling a fallen-in well, and considerable pottery. All of these stockades or enclosures were on thoroughfares, a lake or a river, and we may suppose that they were defenses against the incursions of foreign tribes. We do not deny but that the Mound-builders were

*The places where villages have been identified are as follows: The village of the panther clan at Big Bend (see Fig. 138), at Racine (Fig. 153), and at Indian Prairie, near Milwaukee (see page 141). The villages of the wolf clan at Waukesha (see Fig. 136), at Indian Fields, north of Milwaukee (see Fig. 138) and possibly at West Bend. The village of the coon clan at Sheboygan. (See Fig. 183). The village of the turtle clan at Beloit. (See Fig. 164). The village of the squirrel clan at Green Lake, the east side. (Diag. VIII). The village of the mink clan at Baraboo (see Fig. 73); of the eagle clan at Eagle Township; of the swallow clan, near Prairie du Chien. In two of these the council-house and dance-ground have been identified. In all of them the emblem ascertained. We thus have the names of the clans, but we have no central place for the gathering of the tribe except this at Aztalan.

warriors as well as hunters. Proofs of this are seen in the mounds themselves. There are emblems in the shape of war-clubs, one at Mayville, (see Fig. 223); one at Lake Monona, see Fig. 224; one at Fox Lake, (see Fig. 225). Still this does not prove them to have been at war with one another.

3. Another reason is found in the fact that there are look-out mounds which connect the clans. We have noticed that the

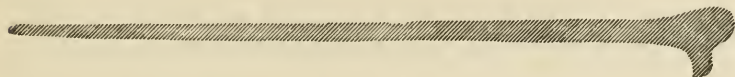


Fig. 223.—War Club.

location of very many of the mounds is such as to command the very best view possible. Sometimes this view is a distant one, showing that the mounds were used as beacons. Fires were probably lighted upon them, and the columns of smoke ascending would prove as a signal to those who were at a distance. Mr. J. O. Bryan, of Marquette, Green Lake County, informs us that there are signal mounds on the south shore of Lake Puckaway, and that lights upon them could be seen from Green Lake, some nine miles to the east and from a point near Princeton, northeast, and from Observatory Hill, some twelve miles southwest. It is probable that the clan which dwelt here was able by this means to communicate with the clan which dwelt to the west and whose headquarters were on the Wisconsin river near Baraboo. The author has discovered that there were signal stations along the Wisconsin river and from the Wisconsin river up the various tributaries, to the water-shed, or highlands, near the Blue Mounds. In one place, near Rudolph's Mills, in Eagle township, the mounds were on a very high butte

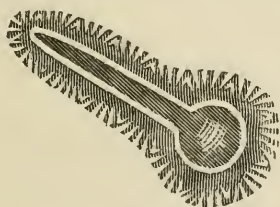


Fig. 224.—War Club at Monona.

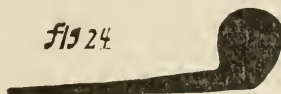


Fig. 225.—War Club at Fox Lake.

and commanded a view down the river for many miles. In Fond du Lac County there are also mounds which form a continuous line of signals which extends from the neighborhood of Fond du Lac across the country, southward, and connecting with the head waters of the Rock river; also up the various streams eastward and there connecting with the head waters of the Manitowoc and Sheboygan rivers.

By studying the map we find several systems of lookouts. One

EMBLEMATIC MOUNDS.

passes down the Wisconsin river and so on to the Mississippi river; and another system passes down the Manitowoc, Sheboygan and Milwaukee rivers, and so reaches the banks of Lake Michigan; another one passes down the Fox river and reaches the shore of Green bay; still another passes down the Rock river with its tributaries, and connects the lakes of Wisconsin with the prairies of Illinois. Between these different systems there are, however, connecting links; the lookouts at Lake Puckaway and Green lake corresponding with others on Lake Winnebago, those on Lake Winnebago corresponding with those on the rivers to the east and the Rock river to the south. There is a complete net-work of rivers throughout the state. The water-sheds are all of them very narrow. In the early settlement of the country it was easy to carry across these water-sheds, and so there was a continuous canoe navigation throughout the whole state, every part of the state being easily reached by a canoe. The lookouts were along the borders of these streams.*

Our conclusion is that the effigy-builders were not only a peaceable people permanently residing within the state of Wisconsin, but that they belonged to one single tribe which was divided into several clans, each clan having its own fixed bounds and limited territory. They probably erected the effigies first as clan emblems, thus designating the territory which each clan occupied. Second, their superstition led them to place the effigies around their villages near the burial places, and connection with their game-drives, as safety, protection, and hunting were supposed to be dependent upon the divinities which were represented by them. Third, the imitation of the animals which formerly abounded in the state is exhibited in the effigies, though the reason for this imitation is not manifest.

As to the date in which the effigies were erected, we still remain uncertain, but it was probably before the advent of the white man, and yet, after the present fauna and flora were introduced as no extinct animals have been identified. The people who erected them may have been the Winnebagoes, and yet this remains uncertain. Whatever the time and by what people they were erected does not matter so much, for they are the tokens of a singular religious cult, which has so far disappeared that we can scarcely ascertain its true nature. They are relics of art which should be preserved and the monuments of people which have disappeared.

*See History of Fond du Lac County, page 327; History of Rock County, page 323; also History of Dodge and other counties in the state.

CHAPTER XIII.

SERPENT WORSHIP AMONG THE EFFIGIES.

One of the most interesting questions in connection with the effigy mounds is the one which concerns their origin. There are two theories in reference to this. First, that they were the embodiment of the totem system of some wild tribe of hunters, and that they were altogether of native origin, purely aboriginal. The second is, that there is embodied in them a system of serpent worship which was introduced from some other continent, but which became mingled with the native totem system, and was here placed in permanent earth form, the two systems—the native and the foreign—being closely associated. The latter is the opinion which has been reached by the writer, after close investigation and long hesitation. The present paper is designed to show the reasons for adopting this conclusion. Let us, however, be understood. We have held all along that the Winnebagoes, a branch of the Dakotas, may have been the effigy builders. We still hold this opinion, but the Winnebagoes, or Dakotas, as a whole, seem to have possessed traditions and symbols which would indicate that a system which was foreign to this country generally was held by them and carried with them in all their migrations. This system was very common in Europe at an early day, and has left the impress of itself upon very many of the monuments there. To some it would seem to be a system which was peculiar to the Indo-European race, and was identical with what is called the Druidic faith, belonging to the Celts, who were a purely historic race. To others, however, it seems to be a system which was older than the Celts, and is regarded as a gift of the prehistoric times to the historic, the chief embodiment being in those works which have been ascribed to the Druids, but the origin of which is still very uncertain. We put the two systems together. The effigy mounds in Ohio and Wisconsin are prehistoric. They have no evidence of contact with what are called historic races, certainly not with any races which were familiar with the Christian system, for there are no symbols of Christianity in them. If the symbolism which is embodied in them was in any sense historic, it was introduced before the time of Christianity. It is the same system which would be called native, whether found in Wisconsin, Ohio, Great Britain, France, Scandinavia, Hindostan, or any other part of

the globe. This is an important conclusion, for it carries back the age of some of the Mound-builders much farther than some are prepared to admit, and at the same time it accounts for many things which have been regarded as mysterious, and as difficult of explanation. The discussion of the subject will follow the line of a comparison between the works of Ohio, Wisconsin, Dakota and other states, bringing in, however, frequent reference to the symbolism of Great Britain, especially that symbolism which connects itself with serpent worship.

I. First we shall refer to the traditions. It is well known that Catlin, the celebrated painter, maintained that the Mandans, who were a branch of the Dakotas, originally were located in Ohio, the very region in which the great serpent is found, but that they migrated from that region, passing down the Ohio River and up the Missouri, and that they became nearly extinct by the time they reached the head waters of the Missouri. He has given the map, with the route of the migration laid down on it, and the various stopping places designated. He states that he also visited certain deserted village sites, and that he was able thus to trace back their route toward St. Louis by the village sites, and especially by the depressions in the soil which had been made by their lodges, the Mandans always having a custom of excavating the soil to the depth of about two feet before they erected their earth huts. These lodge circles, or excavations, have also been recognized among the effigy mounds. The ancient city of Aztlan was found by Dr. Lapham to have contained many of them. He calls them cellars. Prof. A. W. Williamson asserts that there was a tradition among the Dakotas that their original home was upon the Ohio River, and he believes that the ancestors of the Dakotas were the original Mound-builders of Ohio. Rev. A. L. Riggs concurred in this opinion. The date of this migration is not known, but it is supposed to have been before the advent of the white man. Rev. Mr. Williamson and Mr. Riggs both state that there was a tradition among the people that they came from the far east, and were familiar with the sea; and Catlin claims that the Mandans not only came from the east, but that they were originally from beyond the sea, that they were the descendents of the former celebrated band of white men which came to this country under the lead of Prince Madoc, the rejected Welsh prince, and refers to the white skin, peculiar form, and remarkable costumes of this people as proof. This theory does not seem to have gained credence, and yet there is interest in it because of its leading one to consider the European origin of the Dakotas.

If there are resemblances in the languages there are also resemblances in the earth-works and effigies. We have already referred to the great system of works at Portsmouth, Ohio, and have shown that these resemble in their general shape the form

of a serpent. This peculiarity is to be recognized in several places in this country. 1. In the great serpent mound in Adams County, Ohio. 2. In the serpent of standing stones which has been described by several persons as existing in Dakota. 3. The various serpent effigies surmounting serpentine hills, namely, at Mayville, at Green Lake, at Madison, at Potosi, Wis. 4. A serpent effigy has been discovered in Adams County, Illinois, which shows this peculiarity. The bluff is tortuous and the effigy is about 1500 feet long, and is conformed to the shape of the bluff. 5. The resemblance may be recognized in the boned aths of Dakota, the serpentine line in the bone path being seen here; and the eminences in the centre and at either end being also plainly intended. See Plate. Of course there is an inferiority in the later formed avenue, but this is what might be expected. It is the conception which we wonder at more than the execution. In this case the sun circle is lacking. There is no horse shoe to be recognized, and yet the serpent symbol seems to have continued. A feature of this effigy was that the hill and the serpent had the same shape, the peculiar cult of serpent worship being embodied in the hill.

One of the most remarkable prehistoric monuments in America is the great serpent mound in Ohio. This mound was surveyed and described by the authors of "Ancient Monuments" as early as 1845. It has been frequently visited and described since then. The last survey was that made by Prof. Putnam in the year 1889. His description was published in *The Century* magazine for that year. Prof. Putnam, it would seem, has taken the same position as did Squier and Davis, and advocates the theory of an European or Asiatic origin. The following is his description: "Approaching the serpent cliff by fording Brush Creek, our attention was suddenly arrested by the rugged overhanging rocks above our heads, and we knew that we were near the object of our search. Leaving the wagon we scrambled up the steep hill, and pushing on through brush and briar, were soon following the folds of the great serpent along the hilltop. The most singular sensation of awe and admiration overwhelmed me, for here before me was the mysterious work of an unknown people, whose seemingly most sacred place we had invaded. Was this a symbol of the old serpent faith here on the western continent, which from the earliest time in the religions of the East, held so many people enthralled? Following the ridge of the hill northerly one is forced again to pause and admire the scene—the beautiful hill-girt valley, the silvery line of the river, the vistas opening here and there, where are the broader and deeper portions of the river, etc. Turning from this view, and ascending the knoll, one sees before him, eighty feet from the edge of the cliff, the western end of the oval figure in front of the serpent's jaws.

The oval is one hundred and twenty feet long and sixty feet in breadth. Near the center is a small mound of stone, which was formerly much larger. Many of the stones show signs of fire. Prof. Putnam says: "A careful examination of sections through the oval shows that both parts of the earth-work were outlined upon a smooth surface, clay mixed with ashes being used in some places, but a pavement of stone to prevent washing used in other places. The whole structure was carefully planned and thoroughly built." Prof. Putnam speaks also of the crescent shaped bank between the jaws of the serpent, the extremities being seventy-five feet apart, but the bank being seventeen feet wide. This crescent is worthy of notice. The head of the serpent is thirty feet wide and five feet high. The serpent itself is 1,254 feet in length, measured from the tip of the jaw to the end of the tail. The average width is twenty feet, and the height from four to five feet. The tail decreases where it begins to coil, and is at the end about a foot high and two feet wide. "The graceful curves throughout the whole length of this singular effigy give it a strange lifelike appearance, as if a huge serpent slowly uncoiling itself and creeping silently and stealthily along the crest of the hill, was about to seize the oval within its extended jaws. In the oval embankment, with its central pile of burnt stones in combination with the serpent, we have the three symbols everywhere regarded in the old world as emblems of primitive faith. Here we find the Linga in Yoni of India, or the reciprocal principle of nature guarded by the serpent, or life, power, knowledge and eternity. Moreover its position—east and west—indicates the nourishing source of fertility, the great sun god whose first rays fall upon the altar of stones in the centre of the oval."

Prof. Putnam also refers to the remarkable serpent effigy which was discovered by Dr. J. W. Phene in Argyleshire, Scotland, and quotes a description of this, written by Miss Gordon-Cummings. The following is the quotation:

"The tail of the serpent rests near the shore of Loch Nell, and the ground gradually rises seventeen to twenty feet in height, and is continued for three hundred feet, forming a double curve, like a huge letter S, and wonderfully perfect in outline. The head formed a circular cairn, on which there still remains some trace of an altar. Dr. Phene excavated the circular cairn, or circle of stones, and found three large stones, forming a megalithic chamber. From the ridge of the serpent's back, it was found that the whole length of the spine was constructed with stones, regularly and systematically placed at such an angle as to throw off the rain. The spine is, in fact, a long narrow causeway, made of large stones, set like the vertebræ of some huge animal, the ridge sloping off at each side is continued downward with an arrangement of smaller stones, suggestive of

ribs. The mound has been formed in such a position that the worshipers, standing at the altar, would naturally look eastward, directly along the whole length of the great reptile, and across the dark lane, to the tripple peaks of Ben Cruachan." Prof. Putnam says: "Is there not something more than a mere coincidence in the resemblances between the Loch Nell and the Ohio serpent. Each has the head pointing west, each terminates with a circular enclosure containing an altar, from each, looking along the most prominent portion of the serpent, the rising sun may be seen. If the serpent of Scotland is a symbol of an ancient faith, surely that of Ohio is the same." Here then we have the full committal of the professor of archæology in Harvard College to this theory of the foreign origin of the great serpent.

II. The position which we take is, that the system of symbolism which was contained in the great serpent was also extended over the entire region which was occupied by the effigies, and thus proves that the people who built the effigies were serpent worshipers. We have discovered the serpent effigy in many places, and find that it always embodies the same elements, and seems to have been used to serve the same effigies, and is generally connected with the same symbolism. One thing, however, is to be noticed, that the symbolism was more elaborate in Ohio. If the great serpent was erected by the Dakotas, they must have in the course of their migrations, lost much of the symbolism which they then possessed. In fact, they degenerated. The symbolism of Ohio was that of sun worship, as well as serpent worship. In Wisconsin and Dakota, serpent worship seems to have continued, but the emblems of sun worship are by no means numerous. Totemism here gained the ascendancy. Sun worship almost disappeared. Serpent worship, however, retained its original power.

How this superstition arose is unknown. It may have been introduced from the far east, but there is an uncertainty as to the date and means. Serpent worship has prevailed in all parts of the globe. It was formerly very extensive in India, and became incorporated into the Buddhistic faith, though it is supposed to be derived from the aboriginal tribes. The Hindoos tell the story of the great serpent which served as the embodiment of the evil principle, Vishnu, the destroyer. There is a sculptured figure in one of the oldest pagodas, which represents Orishna trampling on the crushed head of the serpent—the Creator trampling on the Destroyer. The classical Hercules is represented as contending with a serpent, the head placed under his foot. The gardens of Hesperides is a classical myth in which was the tree with the golden fruit, which tree was guarded by the hydra-headed serpent. In the Egyptian mythology the monster Typhon is represented as a combination of two immense serpents. In the Scandinavian mythology there is the story of the tree with

the serpent at its root. This is the Tree of Life, the Ash tree. The great serpent Midgard is said to have been precipitated by Woden to the bottom of the ocean, but he wound himself around the whole globe and became the serpent of the sea. The Chinese have as a common myth the story of the dragon which threw the universe into confusion. It was born out of an egg that floated on the waters of the great abyss. The Persian Mithras was depicted with a human body, a lion's head, wings of a bird, with the tail of a snake, all of the orders of creation being combined into one. Some suppose these to be derived from the scripture account of the creation, of the Garden of Eden and of the cherubim which guarded the gate. Others would consider that the Scripture account had only preserved the aboriginal myths and given them a new interpretation, making the serpent the embodiment of evil, winged figures the embodiment of good. The Egyptian conception was just the opposite. The serpent Neph was the creator of the world and the source of good. The Phœnicians also considered the winged snake as a symbol of the good Agatho-demon. Among the Hindoos Twashta was the great artificer of the universe and was supposed to bear the form of a serpent. The worship of the serpent was prevalent among the Babylonians. The apochryhal story of Bell and the dragon shows that it was a well known superstition of the Chaldeans. In the mystic theology of the Druids the serpent was venerated as the symbol of the Deity and was the sovereign dragon of Britain. It was typified in various forms and was described as moving around the huge stones of Gaer-Sidi or Stone Henge and as pursuing a fleeting Goddess, who is styled the Fair One, a myth nearly allied to the legend of Jupiter under the form of a serpent violating Proserpine. Among the Syrians the Great Mother was typified as a serpent as well as a ship. According to the Hindoos an enormous snake is seen opening its jaws, and the god Vishnu is seen driving into its mouth a herd of cattle, the story being that he was in imminent danger from the rage of his enemies, but found shelter for his flocks in this way. Fohi, the reputed first emperor of China, is fabled to have had the body of a man with the tail of a serpent. Vishnu also floats upon the sea, borne upon the body of an immense serpent.

The serpent, twisted in the form of a circle, was a familiar symbol among the Hindoos, Persians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Britains and the Greeks. The caduceus of Hermes exhibited two serpents wound around a staff, a globe, and wings at the top of the staff. The Phœnician symbol was a serpent coiled around an egg, a symbol which is found in some of the altar stones of Mexico. The Assyrian symbol was a man rising out of a circle formed by a serpent, with a bow and arrow in his hands. In Mexico the serpent is a common symbol. It guards

the temples, forms the balustrades to the stairways of the pyramids, surmounts the walls which surround the temples, and is incorporated into the form of their divinities. The shrines in which the Mexican divinities were contained were in the shape of serpents, with mouths open, the fire lighting up the interior and giving them a ghastly appearance. The altar temples or adoratorios at Palenque and Uxmal had the symbols of the winged serpent covering the facade and surmounting the doorways. In Benares, the great temples have circular domes which cover the sacred piles, and the image of the god stands upon a raised platform or high place beneath the dome.

The figure of the cross is sometimes associated with that of the serpent. It is a cross, however, which has a circle surrounding it, showing that it was associated with sun worship, but at times the figure is also associated with serpent figures.

There are many strange myths associated with serpent-worship. In India the myth of the churning of the sea; in Britain the myth of the island in the lake; in China the myth concerning Fohi and the mountain, typhoon, etc; in Greece the myth concerning Hercules; in Egypt the myth of Osiris. The following is the story of the churning of the ocean as related by Sir William Jones: Vishnu directed the king of serpents to appear. Then Ananta bore the king of the mountains, with all its forests, into the presence of the ocean. So the mountain was set upon the back of the tortoise. Eendra began to whirl it about as if it were a machine (a fire generator), the mountain Mandar served as a churn and the serpent Vasooke for the rope. The Dewtahs, Assoors and Danoos began to stir up the waters for the discovery of Amrita, or the essence of immortality. The mighty Assoors were employed at the serpent's head, the Soors at his tail. They pulled forth the serpent's head repeatedly and let it go until there issued from his mouth a stream of fire, smoke and wind which ascended in thick clouds, replete with lightning, when it began to rain down upon the heavenly bands. A raging fire was produced, involving the mountain with smoke and flame which spread destruction upon all sides. The forest trees were dashed against each other, the inhabitants of the great abyss were annihilated, a raging fire was produced involving the whole mountain with smoke and flame. Every vital being was consumed in the conflagration. The raging flames spread destruction on all sides, but were at length quenched by a shower,—a cloud-bourne water poured down by the immortal Eendra. The end was that there arose from the troubled deep, first the moon with ten thousand gleams of light, next the jewel Kowstooch, a glorious gem worn by Narayan on his breast. Then the tree of plenty, also the horse, as swift as thought; the cow that granted every heart's desire; the goddess of fortune, whose seat is the white lily. In Great Britain the legend assumes a different

shape. A holy sanctuary was on the surface of the ocean, a floating island on the seventh wave, a holy sanctuary surrounded by the sea, a sanctuary with an iron door (a type of the ark), and a city not protected with walls. The divinity entered his earthly cell in the border of the circle. Disturbed is the Island of Hu; deplorable is the fate of the ark of Aeddon. The goddess of the silver wheel in behalf of the Britains threw around the sanctuary of the rainbow a stream which scares away violence from the earth and causes the bane of the former state around the circle of the world to subside. Then the masters of the magic wand set the elements at large. The dragon chief was the rightful claimant in Britain. He was seated on his chair in the midst of the island; his belt a rainbow; a protector of the sanctuary.

The legend assumes an historical form in the legend of St. Cuthbert; of Merlin, also of King Arthur and the round table, and forms a very interesting department of mythical literature. He was said to have held the strong beamed plow; he sailed in a wonderful ship; he presided over a stupendous temple which is called the great stone fence, the circle of the world, the mundane circle of stones, the mound constructed of stone work typifying the world, the mundane rampart. The stall of the cow, the ark of the world, the common sanctuary. He places his chair upon the mystic island. He is able to protect his chair in the midst of a general flood.

Many of the stone monuments of Britain were associated with these characters. Each kistvaen was regarded as the mystic stone cell of Ceridwen. The slab in the center of Stone Henge, which has often been taken for an altar, was the mystic tomb of Twain, or the Solar Hu, just as a similar stone in the midst of the Egyptain temple of Nuphis was a sepulchre of Osiris. The symbols which are connected with serpent worship are numerous. Among them are the circle, signifying the sun; the horse shoe, signifying the principle of life, the trident signifying the same; the crescent, signifying the moon and the boat; a crescent with three points, one signifying the prow, another the stern, and another the mast of the boat. They were regarded by some as the symbol of the ark. The cross is also a common symbol. This assumes the shape of the suastika, or the fire generator, the ends signifying the points of the compass. The cross has the circle adjoining the arms, signifying the circle of the sun and the motion of the heavenly bodies. These symbols are repeated over and over again in all parts of the old world, and are all very significant. Many of them are found in this country, though they are not as elaborate, nor are they as closely associated as they were in the old world. Still we have the suastika or fire generator, the crescent, circle, the horse-shoe, as well as the serpent, all of them very significant.

Now our point is that we have all of these symbols in America, the effigy mounds perpetuating the most of them; the relics from the altars and earth-works also containing the same symbols. The strange thing about all of these symbols, the cross, the serpent, the circle, the crescent, the bird contained in the circle, the serpent and the horse shoe, are found in the State of Ohio, the very place from which the Dakotas, according to traditions extant among them, are supposed to have migrated, the only exception being that of the bird in the circle, which is located in Georgia, in the very spot where the Tuteloes, a branch of the Dakotas, are known to have dwelt at one time. We can not help, then, associating these symbols with this tribe and concluding that the same tribe when they migrated to the west carried some of these symbols with them. We might go even further and say that the Mound-builders brought into this coun-

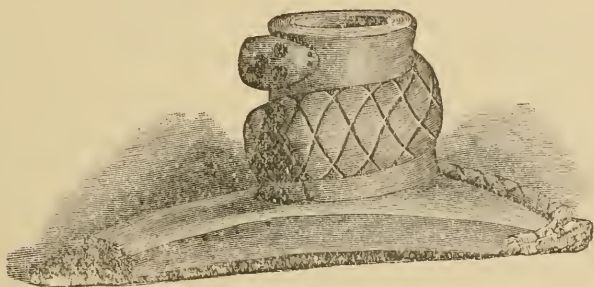


Fig. 226.—Serpent Pipe from Altar in Ohio.

try that form of symbolism which prevailed in Great Britain, and which belong to the Indo-European race, though they themselves were not of that stock, but were of the Turanian. Still they may have received from some stray member of the Indo-European race that symbolism which is supposed to have been Turanian, but which were introduced into Great Britain by the Druids. There is a mystery about this whole subject, but there are enough facts constantly coming to light to keep our curiosity constantly awake and to set new inquiries at work. We may call it all visionary and ascribe the theory to credulity, but the opposite theory—that is, the theory of the autochthonous origin—may lead to equal or even greater credulity. We have, at least, the relics and the earth-works, which bear a symbolism which resembles that of Great Britain, and explain it as we will the relics are substantial and genuine. They have never been disputed.

Let us take the figure given above: It is a carved stone which was taken out of one of the mounds in the enclosure on the north fork of Paint Creek. It represents the serpent twined about the bowl of a pipe. Other sculptures of the serpent coiled

in like manner have been found. This represents a variety not recognized. It has a broad flat head and a body singularly marked. Now we think that no one can look at this figure without being reminded of the Mahadeo of India, a figure which was very significant; and was often seen in connection with the phallic worship of that country. Dr. Charles Rau says of this: "Mahadeo is worshipped by the Hindoo sect under the form of a phallis, represented by an upright stone pillar, sometimes in conjunction with the Yoni in the shape of a jewsharp." Dr. Rau thinks that the same symbols are found in some of the cup-shaped markings of this country, especially in that found on Bald Friar's rock in West Virginia. Here the serpent's head has the shape of the jewsharp, and above it is the symbol of the concentric circle, the concentric circle being emblematic of sun worship. Prof. Simpson says: Much evidence has been gradually accumulating of late years to prove that there existed pre-Celtic races in Britain,

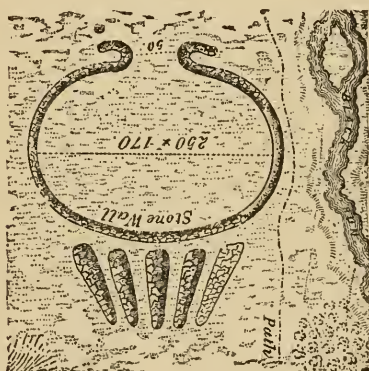


Fig. 227.—Serpent Symbol showing Rattles.

that the race preceded the megalithic builders. But Mr. Tate says of the cup and circle carvings in Great Britain that at the period in which they were made the whole of Britain was peopled with tribes of one race, who were imbued with the same superstitions and expressed them by the same symbols. He seems to have a leaning toward the belief that they originated with the Druids and were connected with the rites of the priesthood. The concentric circles show the motion of the heavenly bodies. It is remarkable that these cup marks are very common in Ohio, though they are not generally regarded as symbolic, a more practical use being assigned to them—rests for drills or holes for of nut cracking. The horse shoe, however, is found in the earthworks at Portsmouth, the concentric circles at one end and the serpent effigy at the other. The carved specimens of shell gorgets found in Tennessee contain figures of the serpent. These serpents are generally represented with their mouths wide open, their tails twisted around, and rings placed at intervals in the bodies. It sometimes seems as if there was a conception of the dragon contained in them, the rings being the place where the legs joined the body, though there are no clearly defined dragons among the mounds. The dragon was a symbol among the Mexicans; it represented the motion of the heavenly bodies, and was used in connection with their chronology. The mounds of Ohio contained no such shells as are found in Tennessee and the

Southern States. We conclude from this that they were built by a different tribe. Still the mounds of Ohio are, many of them, built in the shape of circles and crescents, and have the same symbols which are found in the shell gorgets.

III. There is a distinction between the relics of the different localities, and yet it would seem as if serpent worship existed in all the localities. Let us take the relics which have been discovered in the altars near Chillicothe. Squier and Davis have described these altars. There are twenty-four mounds, all of them altar or burial mounds, or places of sacrifice, in one enclosure. The enclosure contained thirteen acres. There was no exterior ditch, no elaborate gateway. It was merely enclosed by a wall, but it was designed as a burial place. One of the mounds was seventeen feet high and one hundred feet in diameter, but mounds that yielded the most relics were comparatively small. It would seem to be a place for successive burials, as some of the mounds contained two altars, a large one and a smaller one, the large one being about sixty feet in length and forty five feet across the top, the other one being fifteen feet in length and eight feet square at the top. A basin eighteen inches in depth was found in the altar. It was burned to the depth of two feet, one altar having been built upon the first, both having been used and subjected to heat, one after the other. The contents of this altar consisted of copper and stone implements, spear-heads made of quartz and garnet, arrow-heads of obsidian and quartz, copper graters or chisels, twenty or more copper tubes, a large quantity of pottery, two vases nearly complete. Another contained an altar which is only six feet long and four feet wide. On this altar was a deposit of two hundred pipes, carved in stone, many pearl and shell beads, numerous disks and tubes of copper, and other ornaments of copper, covered with silver. The pipes were made of red pipestone, had been exposed to the heat, and were many of them broken. They were carved with miniature figures of animals, birds, reptiles, all of them true to nature, and with exquisite skill, representing the peculiarities and habits of the animals. The otter is in a characteristic attitude, holding a fish in his mouth. The heron also holds a fish. The hawk grasps a small bird in its talons, which it tears with its beak. The panther, bear, wolf, beaver, otter, squirrel, raccoon, hawk, heron, crow, swallow, buzzard, paroquet, toucan, turtle, frog, toad, rattlesnake, are recognized at first glance. The most interesting and valuable in the list are a number of sculptured human heads, no doubt faithfully representing the predominant physical features of the ancient people by whom they were made. Another mound in the same enclosure contained a skeleton and skull of one of the Mound-builders.

Thus we have from this one locality not only the shapes of the animals which were carved upon the pipe and which remind

us of the animal effigies and the skill of this people in imitating animal figures, but we have the portraits of the people themselves, and to confirm it the skull of one of the persons that may have been the skillful worker whose hands wrought the relics. One remarkable circumstance connected with one of the portrait pipes is that it very strongly resembles the portraits of one of the Mandan chiefs which Catlin painted when he was among that people and learned from them the traditions concerning their migration. We have compared the figure of this pipe and a portrait of a living chief, the grandson of the one Catlin painted, and have noticed that the last surviving chiefs had features almost exactly like those which are contained in the pipe. This may be by some regarded as a mere coincidence and not as a proof. If it is a coincidence, it is a very remarkable one. We are ready to acknowledge that the other pipes contained portraits which are very unlike this. And yet one of them, the one with the remarkable head dress, has features which we think are very like the features of Dakota women we have seen. Taking this evidence with that which has already been given, we consider that there is pretty good proof that the Dakotas built the effigies of Wisconsin and the altar mounds of Ohio.

Of course we shall need to connect serpent worship with the altars in Ohio to prove that they belonged to the effigy builders in both states, but we have the animal figures in the pipes to suggest this point, and at the same time we have the serpent effigy, the aligator effigy, the bird effigy, all of them containing altars, thus showing that the practice of building altars and offering sacrifices was common with the effigy builders of Ohio. The serpent worship was attended with sacrifices. Another argument is found in the fact that altar mounds are not confined to this one locality of Mound City, but they are quite common throughout this district; another locality, that of Clark's Works, being very remarkable for the richness of its deposits. In this place were found several pipes, one of which we have described above. Another remarkable circumstance is that the altars contained such a variety of deposits. The mounds differed in the number and relative position of the sand strata, as well as of the size and shape of the altars and the character of the deposits made in them. The altars were somewhat alike, but the deposits were entirely different. One mound covered a deposit of pipes, another a deposit of spear heads, another a deposit of galena, or calcine shells, another of mica plates. Some of the mounds containing relics had no altars. This was the case with the one which contained the coiled serpent. In place of the altar a level area, ten or fifteen feet broad, was found, much burned, on which the relics had been placed. Hundreds of relics, many of them most interesting and valuable, were

found, among which were several coiled serpents, carved in stone, and carefully enveloped in sheet mica and copper; also several fragments of ivory and a large number of fossil teeth and numerous fine sculptured stones. Another mound contained six hundred disks of horn and stone in two layers. Another contained a layer of silvery mica in round sheets, ten inches or a foot in diameter, overlapping each other like the scales of a fish, the whole forming the shape of a mica crescent, giving the idea that the worship of the moon was symbolized both by the crescent and by the glistening color of the mica itself. Traces of cloth, several scrolls from thin sheets of mica, instruments of obsidian, and a large quantity of pearl beads were taken from the mounds at Clark's works. Copper bracelets were taken from another mound in the same locality. This contained an altar which was paved with small round stone laid with the utmost precision. The copper bracelets encircled calcined bones, showing that human sacrifices had been offered.

IV. The following are the elements which we have recognized in connection with serpent worship wherever it is found. These elements are very apparent in the great serpent; but they are also perceptible in other localities.

1st. The serpent effigy always corresponds to the shape of the ground on which it is placed. This is a very remarkable circumstance, the natural and the artificial being always associated. It is perceptible in all localities. The great serpent in Ohio is on a cliff which resembles a serpent in its shape, the very end of the cliff representing the nose, the limestone representing the white throat, the tortuous line of the cliff representing the motion of the serpent, the very shadow on its side making the resemblance all the more striking. The stone serpent in Dakota is on a ridge which resembles a great serpent. It is a ridge which overlooks the prairie on all sides. The stones of which the serpent is composed brings out the resemblance, the two stones in the head of the serpent being very expressive. The two serpents near Potosi, Wisconsin, are situated upon a ridge which, in its shape, is suggestive. Here the two serpents correspond with the shape of the cliff, every bend in the cliff being followed by the effigy, and the line which constitutes the summit being transformed by artificial means into the shape of serpents. It is quite wonderful, for the resemblance is so close that one is left in uncertainty after he has visited the locality whether he has not been deceived. The author, in examining these, was accompanied by Mr. R. S. Foster, who is a graduate of Beloit College and a close observer, being a student of natural science. A gentleman, also, who owns lead mines and who has been familiar with the entire region for many years, was consulted. He seemed to have recognized the serpent shape on the summit of the bluff.

Dr. Lapham has described a row of mounds near Burlington,

Wisconsin, which was so arranged as to resemble a crooked snake. What is remarkable at this locality is, that the line of the mounds follows the line of the stream—the Fox River—every turn of the stream being followed by the row of mounds. There are also three oblong mounds near the head of the snake, though it is uncertain whether these were intended to bring out the symbols of the three peaks which are always associated with the serpent effigies in the old world.

The serpent effigy discovered by the author a few miles from his home, in Adams County, Illinois, is also contormed to the tortuous shape of the cliff. This effigy is in a very conspicuous place. It overlooks the bottom lands of the Mississippi River for many miles. The effigy itself is a striking object. The head of the serpent rests on the south end of the bluff. The bend of the neck follows the line of the bluff for 600 feet. The roll of the body extends 300 feet further, but is brought out more fully by four high conical mounds. The effigy then follows the line of the bluff for 600 feet more, the rattles of the snake being plainly visible at the northern extremity of the bluff.

2d. Another element of serpent worship is that it was a source of protection to the people. This is seen in the serpent in Ohio. Prof. Putnam discovered an old village site, and look-out and burial mounds in the immediate vicinity. He does not say that the serpent has any protective power here, but merely refers to the burial mounds and their contents. The spot seems, however, to have been occupied for a long time. Evidence of the former existence of habitations was shown by the burnt places and ash-beds marking the sites of dwellings. But the dwellings and burials were of different times. He asks the question: "Does not this burial show that the spot was revered as the home of ancestors, or from its vicinity to the sacred shrine, about which traditions may well have been preserved long after the immediate descendants of the builders had disappeared from the region?" Prof. Putnam mentions a grave containing a pavement of flat stones. He says: "Pages could be filled with instructive details relating to the burial place and village site." He mentions graves which have an antiquity as great as that of the serpent itself, and says we have every reason to believe that the bodies buried at this spot were of the people who worshiped at the serpent shrine. This idea of protection given by the serpent to a village is, we think, embodied more fully in the forts to which we have referred—Forts Ancient, Hamilton, Colerain. It is also brought out in the stone work near Bourneville. Here the serpent is double, the two bodies forming a circle, the necks coming together forming the entrance, but the heads turning away, the same as they do at Colerain and at Fort Ancient. The tapering piles of stone adjoining this work are symbolic of the rattles of the serpent, but they are doubled. In this we have

the same symbolism which is common in Mexico, the tails oftentimes being double.* The cross at Teotihuacan illustrates this. In Wisconsin the serpent guards a small council house, the serpent effigy constituting the wall. Here the serpent is very tortuous, in fact forming a circle, the head and tail coming very near together, and forming the opening to the council house. The peculiarity of this effigy is that it corresponds to the shape of the bluff on which it is placed, every bend of the serpent representing a bend of the bluff, the whole forming an isolated spot on which the council house stood. Squier and Davis have described the works at Portsmouth as having a circle in an isolated spot, surrounded by two small streams, guarded by the parallel walls. The wall of this circle, according to Mr. T. H. Lewis, is in the shape of a crooked serpent, the head and tail coming together, so as to constitute the opening. It may have been a council house.

3d. The accompaniment of a "High place" is a frequent feature of the serpent effigies. We find this in Ohio. According to Mr. T. W. Kinney there was an altar at Portsmouth, Ohio. It was contained within an artificial mound, which had the shape of a serpent. This mound has been destroyed, as it is the site of an orphan asylum. It was, however, but a short distance from the horse shoe enclosure. Mr. Kinney supposes that there were sacrifices offered on this altar. He says that it shows evidence of heat. A channel also leads from the altar to the edge of the mound, which he thinks was a channel for blood.†

The "High place" occupied by the oval near the serpent has been described. It is supposed that this was a spot where sacrifices were frequently offered. The eminence is one which can be seen for many miles. The fires lighted here would at night cover the whole valley with a peculiar glare. It is evident that it was the spot where mysterious ceremonies took place.

The serpent effigy at Madison, Wis., attends a "High place." This altar was also situated on an eminence which could be seen for a long distance from all sides. It is a very peculiar ridge, and one which attracts attention. The lakes are on all sides of it. At present the ridge is unoccupied. It can be seen from the capitol, and from the university, and constitutes the third eminence which marks the site of the city. Fires lighted upon this altar could be seen from all the points where effigy mounds are at present located. There are many burial mounds in the immediate vicinity, but this altar mound is on the highest point, and is very conspicuous. Here we have the same element which was an important feature of the ancient works in Great Britain. The circle at Avebury and the horse shoes at Stone

*See Fig. 227; also Fig. 175, Diag. XII, XIII and XIV.

†See *Amer. Antiq.* vol. 1, No. 1, page 37.

Henge surrounded an altar, the serpent at Avebury forming the passage ways to the altars. This is very suggestive, though there is a great variation in the different localities. This "High place" at Portsmouth is very remarkable. It is near the horse shoe and is on the bluff which overlooks the city. Avenues lead from this bluff in three directions. At the east end of the avenue are the four concentric circles, with four passage ways in the shape of a cross, with a terraced mound in the centre, the whole making a remarkable sun symbol. At the west end is a large square enclosure, with the avenue extending in both directions from it, one of them resembling the head of a serpent, the other the tail, the enclosure giving the impression that it may have been used as a pen in which prisoners were confined and kept for sacrifice. At the great ceremonial day the heights may have been lighted with sacrificial fire, the one where is the altar and horse shoe enclosure being the place of sacrifice, the one where is the square enclosure being the place in which the victims were taken; the other, where the sun symbol is seen, being the place where the offerings to the sun were made, the avenues being in the shape of a great serpent, the whole picture being the scene where processions passed in great solemnity. The river flowing between the place of the sacrifice, and the final place of the offering, the very bend of the river suggesting the shape of a great serpent.

4th. In reference to sacrifices, it should be said that nearly all the effigies in Ohio have altars connected with them. The alligator mound, near Newark, overlooked the site where there were villages around which the works were erected. The fires could be seen from both villages. It had an altar near. There was also an altar inside of the circle which is called the old fort. This altar was covered with the bird effigy. An altar also attended the cross which has been found near Tarleton. Immediately back of it is a small circular elevation of stone and earth, resembling that in connection with the Granville effigy. Squier and Davis say of the cross that it corresponds in position with the oval at the head of the great serpent. Here then we have all of the symbols of the old serpent worship embodied in the different effigies of Ohio, all of them attended also by an altar, showing that they were evidently used in connection with sacrifices. Whether they were human sacrifices or not is uncertain. The altar mounds in Wisconsin have only the serpent effigy in connection with them. Much of the symbolism seems to have been lost. Altar mounds are, however, in Ohio associated with the sun symbol, and it may be that the sun worshipers were the people who erected the great serpent, and that they passed

*See Faber's History of Idolatry, Maurice's History of India, Sir William Jones' Asiatic Researches, Davies' Mythology of the Druids, Furlong's Rivers of Life, Furgeson's Serpent Worship, Squier's Serpent Worship, Dorman's Origin of Superstition, Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

off in another direction, possibly to the southwest, the Natchez being their descendents. We are ready to acknowledge that the comparison can not be carried out in the case of the effigies of Wisconsin. In Ohio we have the circle, cross, crescent, horse shoe accompanying the altars. In Wisconsin we have only the serpent effigies. Was it because the people degenerated, or was it because they were of different stock?



Fig. 228.—Serpent Effigies near Potosi, Wisconsin.

5th. The prevalence of forts guarded by serpent effigies is another point. We have referred to the Fort Ancient, and have said that it contained the shape of a serpent embodied in its walls. The same is true of the forts at Colerain and near Hamilton. In both of these forts there are walls which resemble serpents in their shape. In one case the heads of the serpents formed a gateway which was afterwards closed, the tails forming the guards to two other gateways, which were the regular entrances. In the Colerain works the heads formed the main entrance, and a mound near the heads formed the lookout for

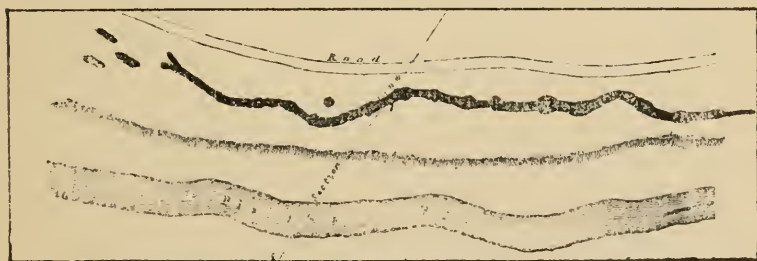


Fig. 229.—Serpent Effigy near Burlington, Wisconsin.

the fort and at the same time served as an out-work or protection to the gateways. The question is whether there are any forts in Wisconsin, Illinois, Dakota or Minnesota which have this peculiarity of the serpent embodied in the walls, or guarding the gateways. In reference to this there is some uncertainty, and yet there were at Aztlan certain peculiarly shaped walls built outside and inside of the enclosure which might be taken to be serpent effigies, though their shape has so far been obliterated.

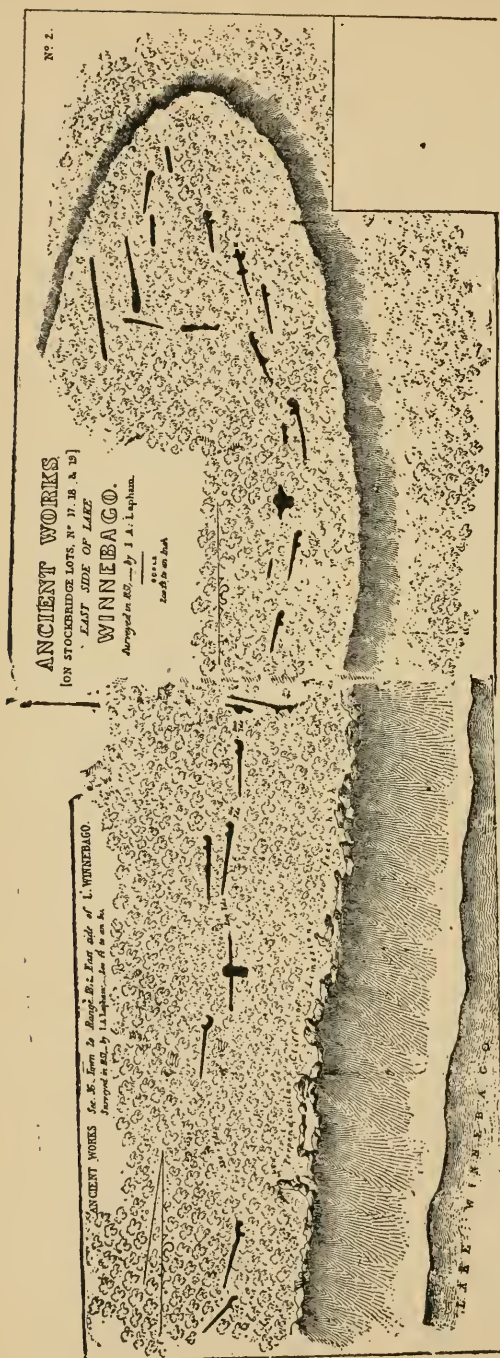
6th. A remarkable coincidence has been mentioned. Mr. Wm. McAdams has described the paths of buffalo bones which were

discovered on the prairies of Dakota, and has given a cut which shows the shape which the paths assume, and which brings out the resemblance of the paths to a great serpent, a mound being in the centre of the body, a smaller mound at the head, and a tapering mound at the tail. It may be a mere coincidence, and may seem visionary that we should mention this, and yet there is a resemblance between this modern serpentine path made out of buffalo bones and the remarkable stone path guarded by the double lines of standing stones, which is a peculiar feature of the works at Avebury, England. We place the two pictures side by side to show this. The centre of this path is a high hill called Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Great Britain, measuring no less than 170 feet in height. Here was the great circle, containing two smaller circles and the embankment with the ditch inside of it. At the end of this avenue was another double circle, which was also upon an eminence, called Bennet Hill. The tail of the serpent went in the direction of Beckhampton. The resemblance between the two structures, the one in Dakota and the other in Great Britain, is certainly remarkable, but the tradition which Catlin repeated long before the path of buffalo bones was known, is even more remarkable. It has been a question who built the works at Stone Henge and at Avebury, and it is still uncertain, some ascribing them to the Druids, others to the Phœnicians, and still others to the early Britains. The Celts could not have come to this country, for there are no signs that the Celtic, Saxon, or any of the branches of the Indo-European languages were ever introduced here, the students of the aboriginal languages all being agreed on this point. In reference to the Britains and the Basques the linguists are not so sure. In fact, some of them, Mr. Horatio Hale among them, have claimed that there were many resemblances to these Indian languages. We would refer to the connecting link between the peculiar structures in Great Britain and the effigies in Wisconsin and Dakota. See Plate IV.

CHAPTER XIV.

EFFIGIES AND TOTEMS.

We now turn to the comparison of the effigies of Wisconsin with the totems of the Dakotas. Many of the effigies are clan emblems. The system of totemism as embodied among the Dakotas is very remarkable. It appeared in taboes which were placed upon the different kinds of animals, the clans never being allowed to eat the flesh of the animal whose totem they bore. To illustrate: The elk clan being forbidden elk; the buffalo clan, buffalo; the hanga clan forbidden geese, swans and cranes; the turtle clan, turtle. The deer clans could not wear deer skins for moccasins. Another clan was forbidden to touch snakes, toads or frogs, and hence they are called reptile people. The Dakotas also have peculiar superstitions about their totems. They believe that the animal spirit possesses them, that the animal whose totem they bear is within them. The Minnetarres dress in wolf skins when they go to war, the skin and tail hanging down the back. The Tetons have raven skins fixed to the back of the girdle, with the tail sticking out behind, and the raven upon the head with the beak projecting from the forehead. The Iowa clans have a peculiar way of dressing the hair, the hair of the children, especially of the Buffalo clan, wearing two locks of hair in imitation of horns. The hanga clan wear a crest of hair to imitate the back of a buffalo. The turtle clan cut off all the hair except six locks, which represent the legs, head and tail of the turtle. The bird clan leave a little hair in front for the bill, and some at the back of the head for the tail, and locks over each ear for the wings. Before hunting, the Dakotas act a bear pantomime. The medicine man dresses in the skin of a bear; all wear masks consisting of the bear's head, and all of them imitate bears. When buffalo are scarce, the Mandans wear masks of buffalo heads with horns on them and imitate the buffalo in the dance. There were associations or societies which were based upon this totemism, being imitations of the attitudes of the animals whose totems they bore. The encampment of the Dakotas was according to their totem, each clan having its particular place in the encampment or the village, and oftentimes had the figures of the clans painted on the tents. In the Ottawa village the different clans had separate wards, at the gates of which were posts bearing the figures of the clan totems. Sometimes the



skin was stuffed and stuck on a pole before the door. It was painted on the tomb or grave post, but generally reversed, with the head down. Some times the skin of the animal hung over the grave.

Now we have only to put these clan totems into the shape of an effigy or emblematic mound to find an explanation which is very satisfactory. Of course this might be done by any other tribe as well as by the Winnebagoes, but as a matter of fact the Dakotas were in the habit of embodying their totems in this way, as no other tribes did. They not only painted them upon the tents, inscribed them upon the rocks, but built stone effigies which should represent them, and we suppose that in Wisconsin they used the earth to perpetuate their totem system.

The names of the clans also correspond to the clan emblems found among the effigies. There are many interesting facts to illustrate this. The Dakotas have the names of different animals which they give to their clans. These names corre-

spond to a certain degree with the clan emblems which we have recognized in the effigy mounds of Wisconsin. The following are the clan emblems which we have discovered among the effigy mounds. 1. The panther; this was situated at Big Bend

and at Racine, two villages, including one village at Milwaukee. 2. The wolf; this was located at Waukesha, but possibly extended as far north as West Bend. 3. The raccoon; this had its habitat on the lake shore, extending from Milwaukee to Sheboygan, with a village at both places. 4. The turtle clan; this has

been identified as the emblem prevalent at Beloit. 5. The fox; probably located at Horicon, Mayville and Fox Lake, the chief center at Horicon. 6. The squirrel; this is a very common emblem at Green Lake, but is also seen on the east side of Lake Winnebago. 7. The mink; is an emblem which is found at Baraboo and Buffalo Lake; it may have been a clan emblem or

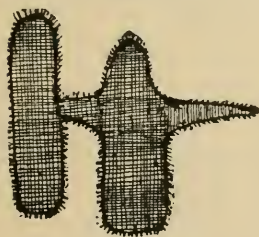


Fig. 232—Pigeons.

it may have embodied some other superstition. 8. The pigeon was the clan emblem on the Lemonweir River; it is about the only emblem at Mauston. 9. The eagle; this clan had its habitat on the Wisconsin River, which extended from The Dells to the neighborhood of Muscoda. 10. The swallow was the clan emblem at the mouth of the Wisconsin River; it is a very common effigy in Crawford County, the first group being found at Port Andrew, near Boscobel, and the last being found near Prairie du Chien. 11. The buffalo was a common effigy in Grant County. 12. The bear seems to have been the clan emblem at Blue Mound, its habitat extending from the Blue Mounds to Madison. 13. The clan emblem at Madison is uncertain; there is a great variety of effigies in this region. We fix with a considerable degree of certainty upon the panther, the wolf, the bear, the pigeon, the eagle and the mink clan as having been visitors at Madison.

These clan emblems may be recognized in the effigies which are predominant in the different localities. In most of the

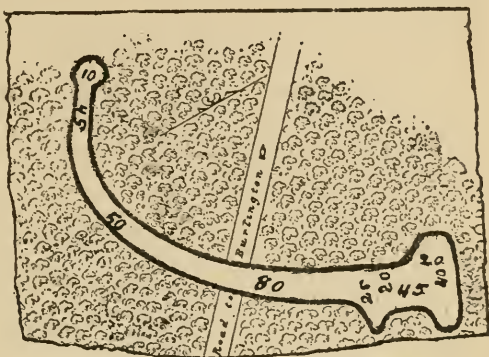


Fig. 231—Panther Effigy near Burlington.

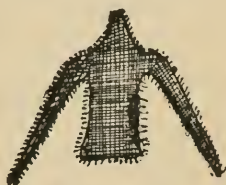


Fig. 233—Pigeon.

localities, the boundaries of the clan can be recognized and the different features of the clan life identified—the village site, the game drives, the burial places, the sacrificial places. With some of the clans, however, the boundaries are uncertain, as the effigies which are regarded as the clan emblems are spread over a considerable amount of territory, different centers appearing in the same clan. Illustrations of this are seen in the case of the squirrel clan, as the squirrel effigies are very numerous on Green Lake and again on Lake Winnebago, making two separate centers. The panther effigy is also seen at Big Bend, at Racine, at Milwaukee and at Burlington, making four centers and four village sites. The turtle clan had its chief center at Beloit, but the turtle is a very common effigy at Pewaukee, which is some fifty or sixty miles away. The eagle clan has its chief center in Eagle Township, but there are eagle effigies at The Dells, on the Wisconsin River, and at Sauk Prairie, and other places, showing several centers for this clan. The same is the case with the bear—one center being at Blue Mound, another at Nine-mound Prairie, another at Madison.



Fig. 234.—Panthers.



Fig. 235.—Turtle.

The wolf is found at Waukesha, and again at West Bend, two centers. The raccoon is found at Milwaukee and again at Sheboygan, two separate centers. This circumstance, however, proves either that all belonged to one tribe or that there were phratries in the different tribes, the phratries always having the same emblem as the mark of their social or totemic affinity. We have enough evidence from the effigies, however, to enable us to fix upon the names of the clans, and we may well compare them with the names of the Winnebago and other Dakota tribes. We shall not find any one tribe which contains all of the clan emblems exactly as they are given by the effigies, and yet if we take all of the Dakota tribes we may be able to pick out emblems which are exactly the same as those found in the effigies.

We find that the Kaws have the nearest approach to the clan emblems in the effigies, but the Winnebagoes are the people who are supposed to have been the builders of the effigies. The following is the list of clan emblems as presented by the different Dakota tribes: (1). The Winnebagoes have the *wolf*, *bear*, *buffalo*, *eagle*, *elk*, deer, snake, thunder,—only four of them found among the effigies. (2). The Omahas have the deer, bird, *turtle*, *buffalo*, *bear*, medicine, kaw, head, red, thunder,—only three of them among the effigies (3). The Punks have

the *bear*, elk, skunk, *buffalo*, snake, medicine,—only two found among the effigies. The Iowas have the *wolf*, *bear*, *buffalo*, elk, *eagle*, *pigeon*, snake, owl,—five found among the effigies. (5). The Sioux have the *tortoise*, snake, *squirrel*, *wolf*, *buffalo*—four among the effigies. (6). The Kaws have the deer, *bear*, *buffalo*, *white eagle* and *black eagle*, duck, elk, *raccoon*, *prairie wolf*, *turtle*, earth, deer—tail, *text*, thunder,—six of them among the effigies. (7). The Mandans have the *wolf*, *bear*, *prairie chicken*, knife, *eagle*, flat head, high village,—three of them among the effigies. Out of the entire list we find the following emblems contained in the effigies used as clan emblems: The bear and buffalo in six tribes, the eagle in five tribes, the wolf in four tribes, the turtle in two tribes, the pigeon in one tribe, but we do not find the squirrel, swallow, the panther or mink, in any of the tribes. It is difficult

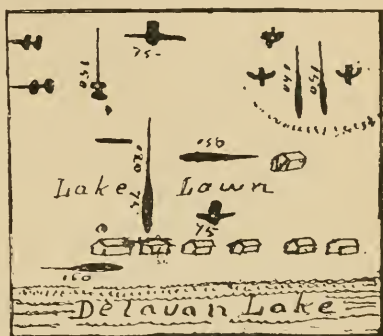


Fig. 236—Fish near Delavan Lake.



Fig. 237—Birds near Rockton, Ill.

to account for the absence of these totems, for they are prominent among the effigies. It should be said that both these animals, the panther and squirrel, are rarely found among any of the tribes, whether Algonquins or Dakotas. In fact the Sioux is the only one of all the northern tribes which has the squirrel as a clan emblem at all, and the Chickasaw is the only one of the southern tribes. The Miamis and Shawnees are the only tribes among the Algonquins which have the panther. The Dakotas do not have the panther at all. This discrepancy between the effigies and the clan emblems of the Dakotas is to be recognized, for it may be that the effigy builders were not Winnebagoes, but Mascoutens, or possibly Ojibwas, or some other of the

Algonquin tribes,—possibly the Foxes, Menominees, Kickapoos or Pottawattamies. The following are the Algonquin tribes which have clan emblems corresponding with the effigies: Ojibwas, Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Miamis, Shawnees, Sacs and Foxes, Menominees and Kickapoos. All of these have resided at one time in Wisconsin. No one of them, however, has all the emblems which are contained in the effigies, though they come as near as do the Dakotas. The following is the list of clan emblems of the

Algonquins which are found in the effigies: The Ojibwas have four, which correspond, the wolf, bear, turtle, eagle. The Potawattamies have the wolf, bear, eagle, fox. The Miamis have the wolf, eagle, panther, raccoon. The Shawnees had the wolf, bear, panther, raccoon, turtle. The Sacs and Foxes had the wolf, bear, eagle, buffalo, fox, five that are found among the effigies. There is about the same correspondence between the Algonquin totems and the effigies as between the Dakota totems and the effigies. While we have the panther and the turtle among the Algonquins corresponding to the emblems in the effigies, we find that the mink, squirrel and swallow are absent from the Algonquins. Still, if the argument in reference to the Dakotas or the Winnebagoes as being the effigy builders instead of the Algonquins rested upon the resemblance between the effigies and the totems, we should be at a loss to choose between the Algonquins and the Dakotas. It does not rest on this, but it rests upon the presence of the serpent effigy in every place where the Dakotas have been. This may be said to turn the scale. In fact, we depend upon this to determine the starting point of the Dakotas, the line along which they migrated, and the points at which the tribes settled. It is a singular circumstance that serpent effigies are found only in the territory which was once occupied by the Dakotas. They are not found in the region where the Algonquins lived. The Mascoutens or Kickapoos have been by some regarded as the earliest tribe in Wisconsin, and the effigies have been ascribed to them. But there are no serpent effigies in any locality where the Kickapoos lived. The Sacs and Foxes were at one time in the territory where the effigies are found, but so far as the villages of the Sacs and Foxes are concerned they contain no serpent effigies. The villages which have been studied, and near which serpent effigies have been discovered are not villages which tradition fixes upon as having been occupied by the Sacs. In fact the burials and the burial customs of the two races which built their villages along the Mississippi River confirm the theory that the Dakotas were the people who built these serpent effigies, rather than any other known tribe.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIBAL RECORD IN THE EFFIGIES.

In the first edition of the work on "Emblematic Mounds," we gave an explanation of their objects and uses. We showed that they were connected with the tribal and clan life of an unknown people. They indicate not only great skill in imitating wild animals, but also the superstition felt about these animals. The effigies present a picture of the animal life which once existed, at the same time a picture of native society. They also exhibit the totemism which prevailed and its marvellous influence over the people. The truthfulness of this view has not, by any means, been impaired by subsequent exploration, but rather has become much clearer.

The chapter which we are now to add is not designed to correct any of the statements made, or even to defend the positions advanced, but to supplement what has been said by the account of a few additional discoveries. The interpretation of the system which prevails has been applied to new groups of effigies, and has been found to be an excellent clew. There are, to be sure, some features about the new groups which are somewhat mysterious and will require further study before they can be explained, but, as a general thing, the key which is in our hands proves sufficient to unlock the mysteries. The process of explanation was, at the beginning, very slow, but as the system dawned upon the mind, complete order has appeared where at first there was the greatest confusion.

I. The effigies are not arranged in a hap-hazard way, however much they may seem to be, but are so placed as to constitute a most remarkable system, which fits into the environment so as to present a fascinating picture set in the framework of the most beautiful and varied scenery. It seems strange that the unknown people could have succeeded in impressing themselves so thoroughly upon the landscape, but it appears that they were able, through these mute-figures, to perpetuate their customs, their superstitions, their mysteries, and their very thoughts. The figures are mere reliefs in earth, imitative of animal shapes, but the imitation is a small part of the work which has been done. It requires persevering study to understand the hidden significance of the effigies, and to learn about the system which was contained in them, but the subject appears clearer at every step, so that the explorer becomes confident that his positions are well established. It is well that the effigies were studied

before the clew to their explanation was lost. The preliminary platting was made by professional surveyors, at a time when the effigies were in their virgin freshness. The subsequent study of them came before the fashion for summer resorts had gained sway. They are rapidly disappearing, and many groups have been entirely destroyed since the work was begun. The ingress of pleasure-seekers has not had the effect to preserve these remarkable figures, nor even to increase the inquiry about them as much as it should. It is to be hoped, however, that some means of perpetuating them will be devised. They are beautiful works of art, at least they seem so to one who has studied their shapes; and not only this, they are monuments of the past, which, when destroyed, cannot be restored. There is danger that the full explanation of the entire system will never be given unless these works are now studied. It is with the purpose of calling attention to the importance of these effigies as a record of the past that we write these pages. We maintain that they are records, perhaps unintentional and unconscious, yet nevertheless records. Is there any further explanation of them than that which we have given? There are certain problems which have not been solved, certain points which are obscure, yet with a clew to the labyrinth in our hands, we may penetrate the utmost corner and learn what is contained therein. There is a unity amid diversity, so that the record needs to go together as a whole, all the parts being necessary to tell the story. Still the groups were generally the embodiment of a system which is repeated with variations, the same points coming out again and again. This is fortunate, for if the effigies in different groups in one place or locality are destroyed, we may go to another place and learn much there. By this means we can verify our own positions and clear up our difficulties. There are many things which lie beyond us. We are still ignorant of what actually existed, but earnestness and perseverance may dispel the mystery. The danger is not that we shall exaggerate and read too much in the picture, but that we shall see too little, and so fall short of the lesson to be learned.

Our position is that there are certain elements in this problem, which, if studied now, will lead us on to a full understanding. We do not believe that they are incapable of explanation, as some have maintained. They may seem like hieroglyphics. In fact, they are hieroglyphics, but they contain a picture language which may be read. They do not contain the conventional figures of the Egyptian alphabet, nor even the connected animal figures which are found in the native writings of the Easter Islands. Nor do we compare them to those rock inscriptions which have been recently discovered in Tennessee, specimens of which we give in the cuts. Possibly there was an esoteric system which reveled in mystery, and which complicates the

problem by the deep significance which is given to the simplest forms, making trifles very important. So far as they have been penetrated, they seem to be free from this punctiliousness. Perhaps they are on too large a scale, and are too useful in their character for that. On the other hand, they present some of the most essential and fundamental principles, and to these we now call attention.

1. The effigies were not merely imitative shapes or creations of fancy, but were actual emblems or symbols, each of which a secondary meaning.

2. They embody in themselves that most remarkable system which was common among all the wild tribes of America, called totemism—a system which is not fully understood, but, nevertheless, constituted the most important factor in native society.

3. There are few, if any, sun symbols among the animal effigies. This shows that the people were so-called animal-worshippers, and practiced all the rites that this name implies.

4. It is natural that the animal-worshippers should embody their myths in the animal divinities, and it is clear that some of these earth figures were myth-bearers.

5. Some of the effigies exhibit the peculiar superstitions which wild hunters have about their dreams, were in fact dream gods or totems.

6. The situation of the effigies on hill-tops, near lakes and rivers, making important objects in the landscape, shows that there was a peculiar sense of the sacredness of the animal divinities, under whose protection the people dwelt.

7. The grouping of different effigies together in certain localities convey the idea that clans intermingled in their feasts and dances and amusements, their sugar-making, their hunting and their religious ceremonies, each one marking its presence by erection of its totem on the soil.

8. The surmise has arisen that even the record of battles and of treaties may be contained in the effigies, as certain groups exhibit a sort of picture writing which can be explained in no other way.

9. The existence of secret societies and the celebration of mysteries have been suggested by the discovery of certain groups which are peculiarly situated, making an additional feature to the record, which has not been mentioned heretofore.

These are the points which have come out after diligent study of the effigies. They correspond with the accounts which are given by those who are studying the customs of the Indian tribes, the study having gone on at the same time with these explorations, the results having been brought together and compared after the work was done. Archæology and ethnology are different departments of one science. It is gratifying to know that they teach the same lessons.

II. The interpretation of the system contained in the effigies recently discovered will now engage our attention. It is the same as that given to the groups of effigies which have already been described, with perhaps a few additional points. If there shall seem to be a repetition of the points already advanced, it will only show that the system is the same throughout.

I. The first thing which was impressed upon us by the study of the effigies is, that they were all wrought by a single tribe, a tribe which has not yet been identified, but nevertheless one which resembled the tribes of Indians which formerly occupied this region. This impression has grown stronger as we have progressed in the study of the subject. Different tribes had different ways of perpetuating their tribal signs. To illustrate, the Dakotas and some other tribes painted animal figures upon their tents; the Haidahs tatoo them upon their faces and forms and paint them upon their canoes; the Thinkleets carve them into totem posts; the Chippewas cut them into blocks of wood and place them upon the houses which cover their graves; the Iroquois have written them with ink upon documents which were used as deeds or as treaties, each chief making the figure of an animal instead of his mark.

The Indians of British Columbia carve their totems on the prows of their canoes; the Pawnees mark their totems on their hats and articles of apparel; the Lenapes painted them on their houses; the Mandans placed the skin of the animal over their wigwams; the Iowas have a peculiar mode of dressing the hair; the buffalo clan wear their locks in imitation of horns; the Hanga clan have a mat of hair to imitate the back of the buffalo; the turtle clan have six locks, to represent legs, head and tail; the bird clan have their hair in front for the bill, with a lock at the back for the tail, and a bunch over either ear for the wings; the Minetarees dress in wolf skins when they go to battle; the Thlinkets go into dances disguised in the full form of the animals whose totems they worship. We imagine that in prehistoric times the tribes did the same thing. One tribe used shell gorgets as a means of record; another used carved pipes, Mound-builders' pipes; another inscribed figures upon rocks, made these their tribal records; another erected stone effigies or boulder mosaics, and left these as their tribal signs.

The effigy-builders had the custom of shaping their totems out of earth, and confined themselves to this. The tribe occupied the major part of Wisconsin and extended to the south as far as the mouth of the Kishwaukee, south of Rockford, Ill. It extended also into the states of Iowa and Minnesota, and left effigies on the bluffs and on the banks of streams as evidence of their presence. The tribe may have been akin to that unknown people which have covered the sides of the caves of Minnesota with the remarkable figures which have been described by Mr.

T. H. Lewis. These figures, however, differ in all respects from the effigies and contain an entirely different symbolism; they are more of the nature of mythologic creatures. Nothing like them has been discovered in Wisconsin. Some maintain that the Winnebagos were the effigy-builders. This is very uncertain. The Winnebagos formerly lived in the state and had villages in the very spots where the groups of effigies are found. The groups on the south side of Green Bay, at Red Banks, on the west side of Lake Mendota, at various points on the Wisconsin river, and those on the Kishwaukee river, are near the site of former Winnebago villages.*

There are also groups of effigies on the north side of the Fox river, in the very region where the Winnebagos still linger. One such group is situated near Neecedah; several other groups are on Pine river, north of this. The writer, after visiting these groups, interviewed some of the Winnebagos making their camp in the vicinity, but was surprised to find them so ignorant of the effigies. One young Indian, a descendant of Decorah, the chief, had seen some of the same effigies farther south, and had noticed the man mounds, but did not seem to be aware of the animal shapes. He spoke of the villages as marked by corn hills and had evidently been impressed more by these than by the effigies.

The discovery of certain pipes of the monitor pattern among the effigies shows that the people were acquainted with the Mound-builders' art, and were associates of the Mound-builders of the south. These pipes have a curved base, a round bowl and the same finish as those found in the mounds and called Mound-builders' pipes.† No carved animal pipes have yet been discovered in Wisconsin.

The copper relics which are so numerous in Wisconsin would prove that the effigy-builders had access to the copper mines of Lake Superior. There are no effigies on the shores of Lake Superior, and we infer from this that other tribes must have been the possessors of the mines, but the effigy-builders must have been at peace with them. It may be that in early times the same stock of Indians extended as far north as Lake Superior, and that another stock afterward came in. The Chippewas have been, since the times of history, the occupants of the Lake Superior region. They are bitter enemies to the Dakotas and Sioux, and prevented the latter people from getting copper in their mines. The effigies were probably built before the Chippewas got possession of the mines.

The tribal unity of the effigy-builders is plain. A solid nation without separation with clans occupying the different parts, but all connected by trails and water courses with the ancient city

*See Farmers' Map. Lapham's Antiquities of Wisconsin.

†A. J. Parry, of Montello, has two such pipes. The writer has one. They are all of them made of catlinite.

Aztlan as the capital, having the two lakes on the north and east, and the great river on the west for defense, dwelt in this beautiful region, where forests and prairies are interspersed, and lakes and rivers form the most delightful fishing grounds, and where the scenery is attractive, and followed their peaceful avocations, making the building of the effigies their pastime, as well as their religion.

2. Another feature of the system is that it furnishes so good a picture of the clan habitats. Each clan had its own territory, within which were game grounds, dance grounds, council houses, sacrificial places, burial places, garden beds, corn fields, grain pits or caches for grain, lookout mounds, village sites; all of them

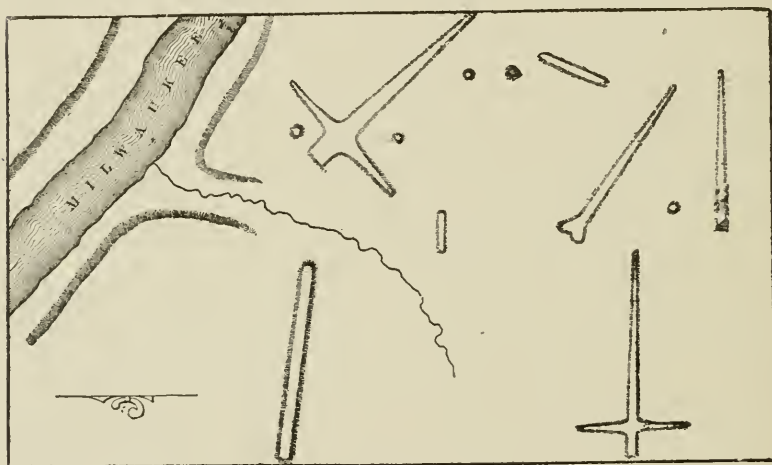


Fig. 238.—Wild Goose Clan.

protected by effigies which were representative of totems. The location of these clans, as well as the name of the clans, has been ascertained by a study of the effigies, and a map made by this means. There is an uncertainty about some of the clans, for the very reason that the clans mingled together so much and placed their clan emblems on one another's territory, still, the emblem which surrounds the village, and which is the most prominent, is the one which gives the name to the clan. We have identified on the map the most of the clans, three on the east side of the state adjoining Lake Michigan, two or three in the central part of the state along the Rock river, two or three in the western part of the state, near the mouth of the Wisconsin river, two or three others in the central part of the state, and along the Lemonweir river, and two or three in the northeast part of the state, along the Fox river. This location of the clans would show that there was a river system, each clan having some river for its own, and making its habitat on each side of the

river. The clans which we have identified on the east side of the state are as follows: The panther clan, with its habitat extending from the state line to Milwaukee, and from Burlington, on the Fox river to Racine, the wolf clan on the Milwaukee river, the raccoon clan on the Sheboygan river, and the wild goose clan, which stretched from the Milwaukee river to the Rock river, its chief center being at Mayville. All of these clans seem to have freely intermingled, for the effigy of the wild goose and the coon are seen associated with the wolf at Milwaukee and West Bend. Coon effigies are sometimes seen with the heads joined together, making a sort of double animal.* Of the central clans on Rock river, the southernmost was the turtle. Its habitat extended from the mouth of the Kishwaukee, below Rockford, to a point near Fort Atkinson, including groups at Rockton, Rock-

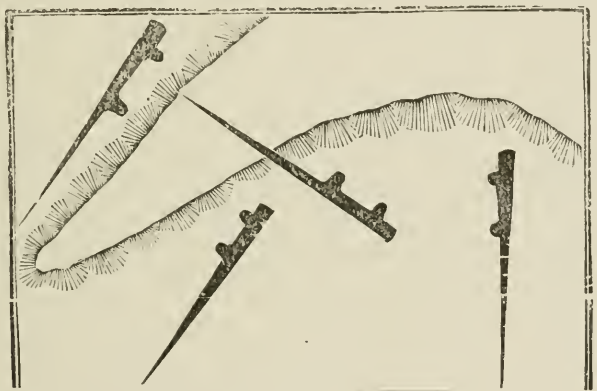


Fig. 239.—Wolf Effigies at Great Bend.

ford, Beloit, Indian Ford, Lake Koshkonong, Fort Atkinson and Aztlan. This clan extended as far east as Lake Geneva and embraced the effigies which were formerly located on the site of the village, including the groups of fish effigies at Lake Lawn on Delavan Lake. There are only two groups of fish effigies, this one at Lake Lawn and another on the northwest side of Lake Koshkonong.

North of the turtle clan was another, whose clan emblem was the fox. There are many fox effigies at Horicon and near Beaver Dam, in Dodge county, but they are mingled with the wild geese and squirrels, showing that here also there was a mingling of clans, the wild geese from the east and the squirrels mingling with the foxes at this place.† The same mingling of the clan

*See Diagram XV; also Figs. 182 and 183. These composite mounds suggest a combination of clans.

†The wild goose and fox are very prominent in a large group of burial mounds a mile south of Horicon, and are also prominent in another large group on Mr. A. C. Drowne's farm, in Oak Grove Township, six miles west of Horicon. On the other hand, two squirrels

is also manifest on the Four Lakes, near the City of Madison, in a great variety of figures, for no one figure is prominent enough to decide about the clan.† The clans in the southwest part of the state have been newly explored. One situated upon the south side of the Wisconsin river has the bear for its emblem, though the buffalo, moose, panther is frequently seen. This clan extended from the Wisconsin river to the state line and embraced the effigies near the Blue Mounds. The clan north of the Wisconsin has the swallow for its emblem. This clan extended as far east as the village of Boscobel, and the old dead town called Port Andrews. Here is a remarkable group. It consists of a line of swallows over a mile long. The swallows are on the slope of a hill near the river and underneath the rocky cliff, which is very high. The road runs along the edge of the cliff and overlooks the land where the effigies are. They can be

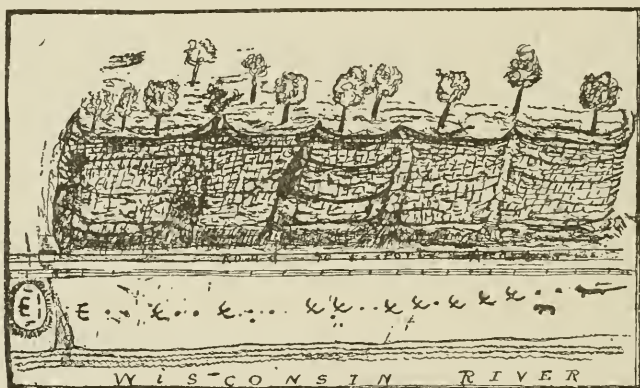


Fig. 240.—Swallows at Port Andrews.

plainly seen from the road and are very interesting and beautiful, though they are fast disappearing under the plow. There is one swallow here of which we shall speak hereafter. It is at the end of the line of swallows, but is placed by itself on a knoll, and so surrounded by long mounds as to be protected on three sides, constituting a sort of enclosure by itself. See Fig. 240.

East of this, in the neighborhood of Muscoda, we find the eagle to be the common clan emblem. The eagle clan appears to have been a very large clan. It extended from near the group at Port Andrews, up through all the towns on the Wisconsin river, and as far east as Sauk City, and even extended

have been seen a mile west of Horicon, near the depot. Here each squirrel crowns the summit of a small knoll, and is elevated by the knoll so as to overlook the lake and form a striking object in the landscape. A similar group was seen north of Horicon. See Figs. 86, 88, 89, and 175.

†Man mounds are common in the region of the four lakes and at Devil's lake, but are not seen anywhere else. For this reason, we have designated the man as the totem of the region. See Figs. 172, 180, 203, 218, and groups on asylum grounds.

over the water-shed, and left its totem on the banks of the four lakes at Madison. Mr. S. Taylor was the first to recognize the eagle, but he said nothing about the eagle clan and did not follow up the subject in this way. In fact, all the early archæologists were successful in their work of identifying particular birds and animals, but did not undertake to trace the clan emblems or to study the totem system. The eagle effigy, discovered by Mr. S. Taylor, at Black Earth, marks the western extremity of this clan. The eagles which, in company with Prof. F. W. Putnam, we discovered at the Dells, may have marked the eastern extremity, though the center of the clan habitat proper was in the vicinity of Eagle township. Here the eagle effigy is frequently used as a part of a game drive, as well as a clan emblem. A

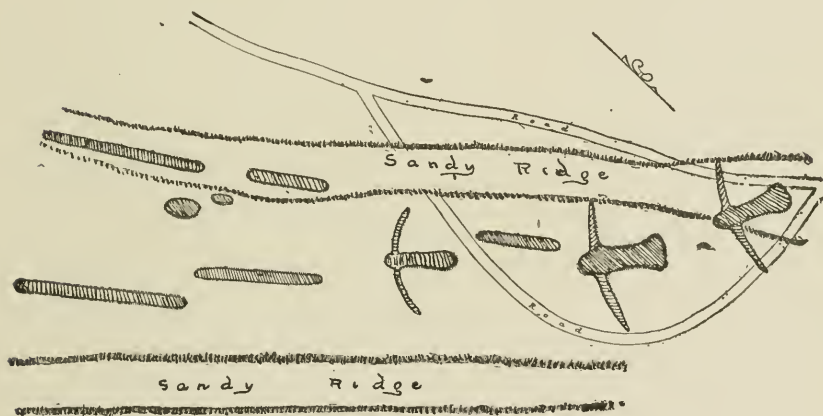


Fig. 241.—Pigeons on the Lemonweir River.

single stream is lined with these effigies—one of them nearly a thousand feet long serving as a screen; twenty others with their wings folded, overlooking the feeding ground of the deer, game drive following game drive, all of them being fairly surrounded by eagles. See map of Eagle Township.

At Honey creek there are two eagles near a game drive, with two bears, a deer, a fox and a buzzard, the whole group making a remarkable picture of a hunting scene, with the beasts and birds watching the game, and the clan totem over all.

There was a clan situated on the Lemonweir river, northwest of the eagle, which had for its emblem the pigeon. See Fig. 241. We present a cut taken from Lapham's work, of a group at Mauston. It represents a game drive; there were garden beds not far from this; Old Decorah's burial place was at Mau's Mills. The habitat of the pigeon extended west perhaps as far as LaCrosse. There is a large group of burial mounds south of

On the south side of the lake, about ten miles to the east of the mink clan, the habitat of the squirrel clan began. Both clans seem to have had their hunting grounds on this lake. The elk, buffalo and moose were the animals which they hunted. There are many elk effigies on the north side of the lake, but the mink effigy is associated with them, mink effigies being also found west of Buffalo lake, near the headwaters of the Fox river. Squirrel effigies extend across to Puckaway lake, on the south side, but do not extend north of Buffalo lake. The squirrel clan here hunted the elk. There is a group of squirrel effigies near Montello. Here the elk effigy is surrounded by squirrels, everything in the group indicating that it was the hunting ground of the squirrels. See Figs. 242, 243 and 244.

A description has been given of the effigies which are scattered along the edge of the bluffs overlooking Green lake, not

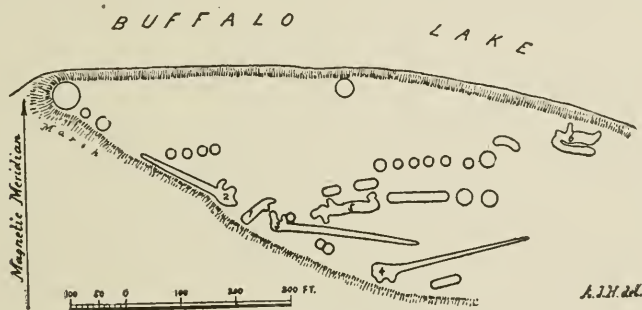


Fig. 243.—Squirrel Effigies near Montello.

far from the city of Ripon. We have regarded these as another contrivance of the effigy-builders for entrapping game. The group is very interesting and is situated immediately opposite the village site of the squirrel clan. At the end of the lake is a group which represents two bears chasing a deer. The deer effigy in this group, surrounded by the squirrel effigies, is very suggestive. See Fig. 244.

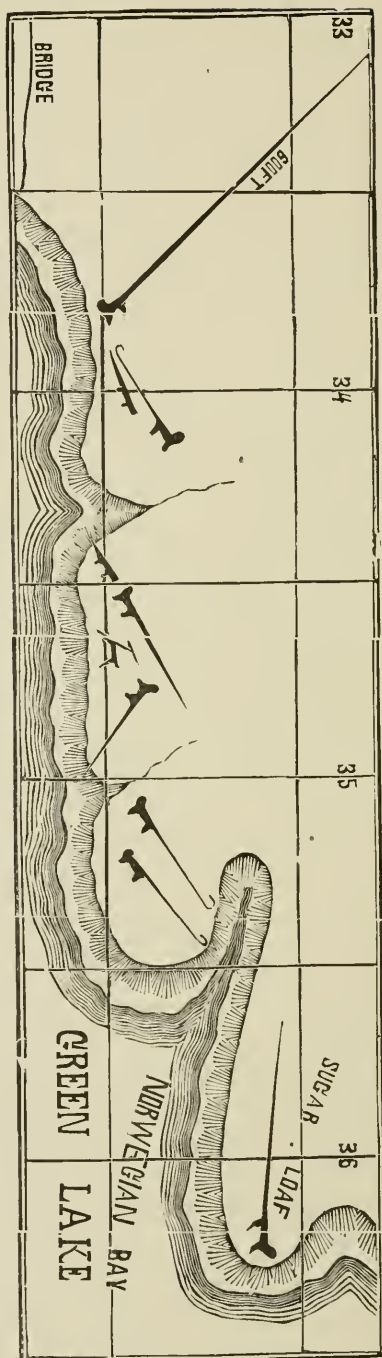
There is one contrivance which the squirrel clan adopted that is worthy of notice here. They made two squirrels on a large scale, and twisted the tails of the squirrels around near the back, (very much as it is twisted in the squirrel effigy on the asylum grounds opposite Madison), but between the tail and the body of each squirrel, they dug a large pit in the sandy soil, and so made a trap for the animals which they would drive from the forests towards the pits, into which they would drive them as they ran from the forest towards the lake. It is probable that they placed timber palisades or brush fences around the traps, and made the squirrel effigies serve the double purpose of a totem and a trap.

The mink clan also had a singular custom. They placed a moose on a very high hill, and from the top of this massive effigy they watched the squirrel clan chase their game; the

two groups being not so far apart but that on a clear day they might recognize each other, or, at least, they could exchange signals with one another. We are convinced that the clans were friendly, for these signal stations are scattered all over the state; but the border lands between the clans may have been common property. This finishes up the map of the clans, so far as they have been identified. There may have been other clans in the forests to the north of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. The effigies on the Pine and Lemonweir rivers indicate that there were clans on both of these rivers, and perhaps on the Black river and upper Wisconsin, but the region has not been explored sufficiently to give their name or location.

III. The enquiry has arisen whether any other figures besides clan symbols were used by the effigy-builders. Some have maintained that there are crosses and circles and various conventional figures, which were significant of sun worship. To us it seems improbable. We have discovered no sun symbol among the effigies, though the presence of human effigies would suggest that anthropomorphic gods were mingled with animal gods. See Fig 251. Fusion of clans may also be represented by the combination of totem figures. And there

Fig. 244.—Squirrel Effigies on Green Lake.



may be split totems, in which only a part of the animal is represented. So there may be sex totems, and private or personal totems. Occasionally vegetables, such as the potato, gourd and squash, may be used as totems. Weapons also, such as the battle-axe and the war-club, are represented in the effigies, but the wild hunter tribes rarely reached the stage where the sun symbol was used. Still we have discovered one effigy which looked very much as if this people were familiar with the emblem which was common among the tribes of sun worshippers. We refer to the emblem of the face—the face of the Manitou. We discovered in the midst of the group which we have described above as belonging to the mink clan, an effigy of the owl. It is the figure of an owl with projections above the head, making it resemble a horned owl; the eyes were not in the head, but under

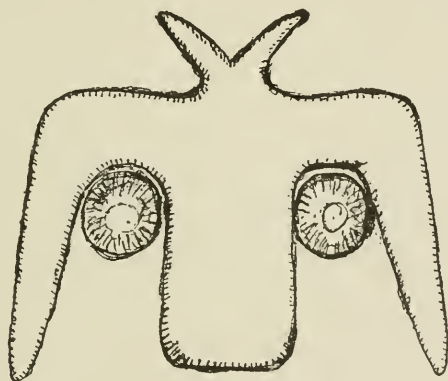


Fig. 245.—Owl Effigy.

the wings. They were composed of two small ponds of water, which undoubtedly shone with a silver radiance under the light of the moon, making the effigy impressive. See Fig. 245.

There is evidence that the effigy-builders were serpent worshippers. We have discovered the serpent effigy in so many places that we are inclined to believe that this tribe had the same superstition which was common both among the Mound-builders of Ohio and the stone grave people of Tennessee, for this prevalence of the serpent effigy is otherwise very difficult to explain. There is no doubt of its presence in Ohio, in Illinois, in Dakota, and in Wisconsin. We think that the affinity of the effigy-builders to the tribes adjoining is shown by this means. It may be that the migratory route of the effigy-builders may be traced. We give here the cut of the serpent effigy which the author discovered at Quincy! (see Fig. 246), the description of which may be found in the chapter on Migrations in the work on "The Mound-builders." The effigy is remarkable for two things: It is conformed to the bluff, and is another illustration of the custom

which was common. It contained skeletons of snakes coiled up on the cremated body which was placed in the altar or fire-bed at the bottom of the mound, perpetuating the same custom which was common among the Basques of burying or throwing serpents into a pit, consecrating them to a fire god.

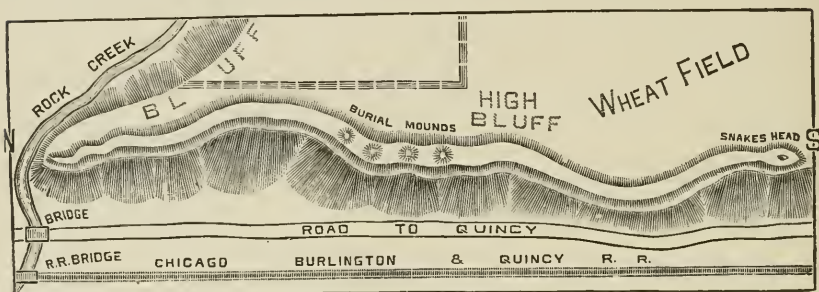


Fig. 246—Serpent near Quincy.

The fact that so many effigies are conformed to the shape of the ground shows a repetition of the custom or superstition we have termed geomancy, changing the term necromancy to express the idea that the earth was possessed by a spirit, the spirit of an animal. One such figure was found in a group of effigies three miles from the capitol of Madison. It represents a lizard placed upon the summit of a ridge, its legs upon the spurs, which extend upon either side of the ridge, the body and tail extending the whole length of the ridge. The same peculiarity is exhibited in the group which is represented in Fig. 247. This group is situated three miles north of Horicon. It illustrates one point. The fancy of the effigy-builders and the custom of making the situation set off the beauty and symmetry of the effigies.

It should be mentioned here that many of the effigies are purely creations on which the native artists had expended their skill merely from the love of art. Some of them are grotesque, and were perhaps erected for amusement, and others are excellent imitations. The following groups are illustrations of this: There are two animals north of Buffalo lake, not far from Crooked lake, which resemble squirrels. The platting of these effigies brings out the fact that they are not squirrels at all, but raccoons. We find in them both nearly the same measurements, but as the lines come out on paper we find the crooked legs, the

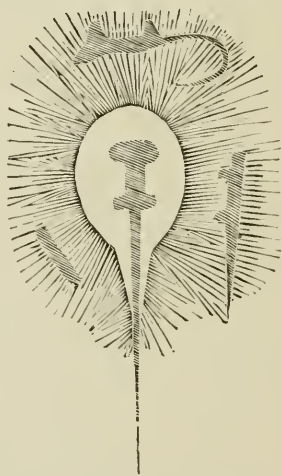


Fig. 247—Group near Horicon.

small head, the high curved back, the short belly and the curved, bushy tail—all of which are peculiarities of the coon. Near these coons we find a turtle—but a turtle in a most novel attitude, the attitude which a horse assumes when he “racks,” two legs upon one side thrown forward, two on the other side turned back, the whole figure being distorted and twisted as only a

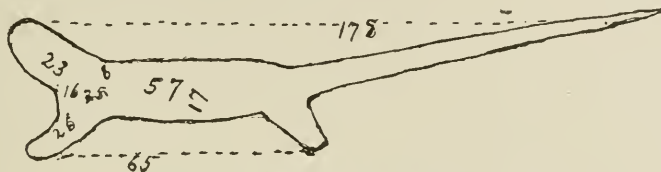


Fig. 248.—Wolf Effigy near Endeavor.

turtle can twist. On the west side of Green lake, squirrels appear in great numbers; every one of these squirrels has a different attitude, but an attitude perfectly natural to the animal.

There is an effigy on the east bank of Lake Mendota, but two or three miles from the capitol, which represents an antelope in the attitude of jumping. See Fig. 249. The antelope has the head partly thrown back, the rump thrown up, the hind legs drawn toward the body, very much as any antelope would jump. An instantaneous photograph could not take the attitude better than did these native artists. Take another instance. There are two animals north of Buffalo lake. There is the effigy of a wolf in

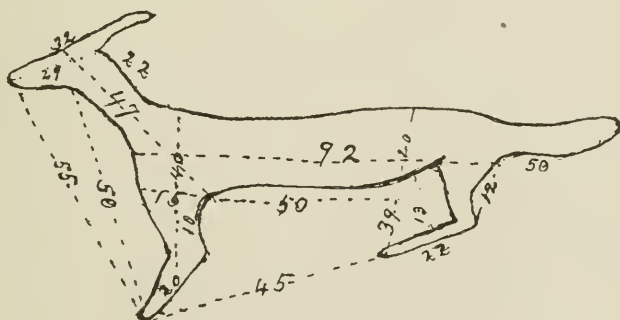


Fig. 249.—Antelope near Madison.

the vicinity of Merritt's Landing, which shows much skill of imitation. It has the proportions very correct. The gigantic figure of a mink may be seen in this locality. It is given on a small scale in the cut (see Fig. 250), but it is a gigantic figure as it lies on the ground. The wonder is that the proportions of the animal could be preserved in an effigy which was seven hundred and sixty-five feet long.

The otter is another figure which is well represented. See Plate. The fox also was used by the same clan. This effigy

was found near Crooked lake, in the midst of a number of bird effigies. The moose was used by the mink clan as a symbol as well as an ornament; the moose represented in the cut is situated on the summit of a high hill overlooking Buffalo lake. It commands the view of the group in which the squirrels and the elk are numerous on the opposite side of the lake. There is also a striking effigy on the north side of this lake, which represents the badger. This may have been only a creation of fancy.

IV. We now turn to the obscure elements in the effigies which are not fully understood, and the interpretation of which we must acknowledge to be somewhat conjectural. They are the features which bring so much confusion into the system of clan totems. We think that there was a symbolism among the effigy-builders. It was a symbolism connected with totemism, which was a religion by itself. As a religion it had to do with the relation of man to animals. The members of the totem clan call themselves by the name of the totem whose emblem they carry. They believe themselves to be of one blood, descendants of a com-

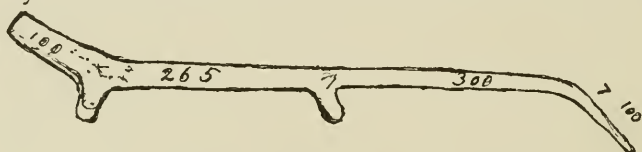


Fig. 250.—Mink near Merrill's Landing.

mon ancestor, and that an animal; they are bound together by common obligations to each, and a common faith in the totem. Totemism is both a religious and social system—this prevailed among wild tribes. The Iroquois have totems, such as the turtle, bear and wolf, and imagine they were descended from bears, wolves and turtles. The mythology of the Californians abounds with the coyote, and they think they are descended from the coyotes. The Delawares descended from the common turtle, which was the first of living beings—it bears the world on its back. The tribe which built the effigies had a similar totem system, and seem to have a general and specific or tribal and clan totem. The serpent is an effigy which we conjecture was a general totem, either tribal or national, possibly inherited, and so would be called a stock totem.

1. The mingling of the clans in connection with religious ceremonies and feasts seems to be recorded in the effigies. Nearly all Indian tribes are known to have dances in which they dress themselves up like animals and imitate the animal attitudes. They call the dance after the names of the animals. Catlin speaks of this as common among the Mandans, and has painted some of the scenes. The plates in his work exhibit these dances and shows the manner in which they imitate the forms of animals. In the buffalo dance they wore the horns of buffaloes on their

heads and assumed the different attitudes of the buffalo while they danced. Prof. A. W. Williamson says that the Dakotas, when they danced, imagined that they were possessed by the very spirits of the animals which they imitated.* The pictures which are given by Catlin also convey this impression. In these pictures we see the Indians taking the attitudes of the animals as if they were possessed. They become, for the time, wolves and panthers and wild animals. This superstition will account for the presence of so many animal figures in connection with the clan emblems. They are groups of effigies which seem like menageries in pantomime. The animals are not only mute, but are motionless. They are transfixed and placed on the soil as if arrested in full life, but paralyzed. There is a group of effigies on the north side of Lake Mendota which illustrates this point. See Fig. 251. Here we see the panther, the mink, the buffalo,

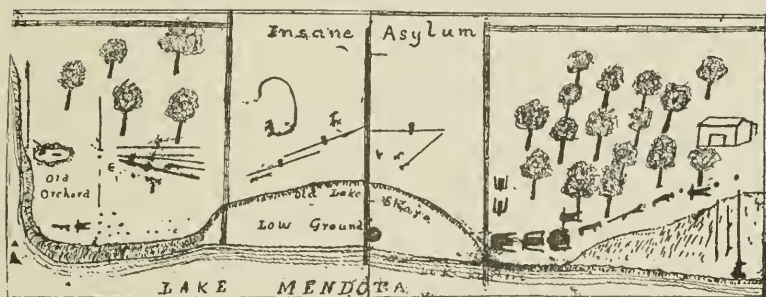
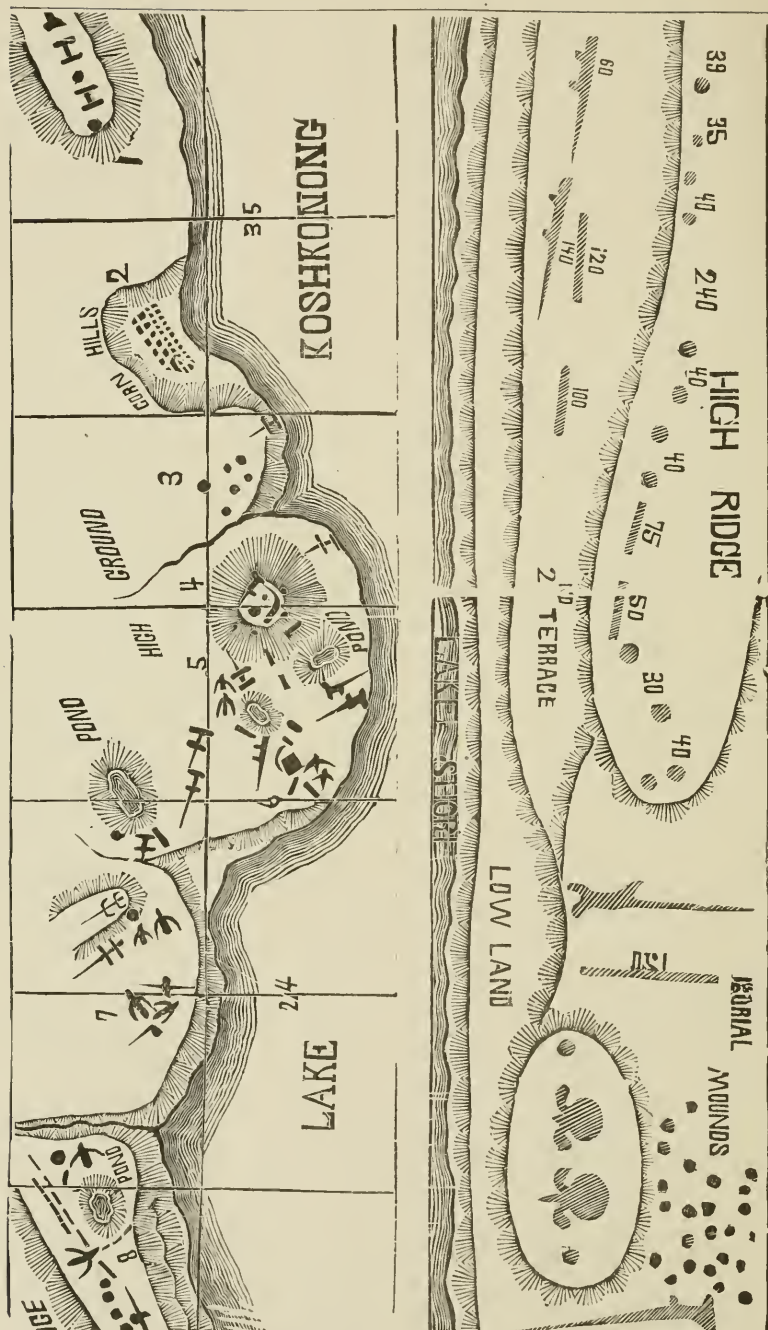


Fig. 251.—Group at Lake Mendota.

fox, wolf, pigeons, man mounds, eagles, the deer, squirrel, and many other animals arranged along the shore, without any other ostensible object than to make an array of animal figures. The most of these figures were used as the emblems of the clans surrounding—panther, mink, bear, eagles, pigeons, squirrels, while others seem to have been used as prey gods and game

*The dance I best remember was held in Kaposta (South St. Paul) about the summer of 1849. Its chief object was the initiation of new members into a secret society, the Wakau order, into which only favored individuals were admitted. Members came from many other bands. They stated that in some of these dances the dancers actually became, for the time, by transmigration of souls, the very animal they worshiped, and involuntarily and necessarily they imitated them; they acted not as men, but as these animals, while under the spell. The buffalo and deer ate grass; panthers, wolves, bears and foxes raced and quarreled over the small animals and fishes brought into the enclosure for the purpose, tearing them with their teeth and eating them raw. At another time some malignant spirit, it was supposed, took possession of the one to be initiated; and he must be exorcised and destroyed. So the dancers, with guns and bows and arrows, were ready to shoot the evil spirit as soon as the signal was given. Whatever the object of worship, whether animal or bird, tree or stone, they were always careful to state that it was not the object itself, but the Wakau, the God that was accustomed to haunt the object, which they worshiped. In some cases the soul of a departed ancestor had entered into the animal and they worshiped that. They stated that the Gods not only haunted the animals, but in an especial manner were present in the pictographs and images which represented the animals and which were used in the dances. They also spoke of particular localities in which they fancied a natural resemblance to some object, either animal or other form, and therefore in an especial sense the seat of the God or spirit of that animal. In Hudson, Wisconsin, was the home of the Fish God, on account of the fish bar; a place near Big Stone lake was the home of the Thunder God; a place on Hawk creek, about three miles from its mouth, in Kennebec County, the home of the Hawk God. The same resemblances and superstitions are recognized in the effigies.



Figs. 252 and 253.—Effigies on Lake Koshkonong.

gods, in connection with the game drives of these clans. It is possible that this entire group was designed to represent a combination of different clans in a grand hunt, in which the game, either deer or buffaloes, were driven into the water. The effigies have been used as screens, behind which the hunters would hide.

There is a group on the east side of Lake Koshkonong which may be designed to perpetuate the same record. See Fig. 252. This seems to have been the permanent residence, for there are in it look-outs (1), cornfields (2), sacrificial places (4), assembly places (5), council houses (7), and burial places (8), all indicating permanent occupation. We imagine that the turtle clan was the prevailing one, but there are many other effigies in the group which we are at a loss to explain, except on the ground that they represent different clans. This interpretation is subject to correction, but it is the most plausible one we can furnish.

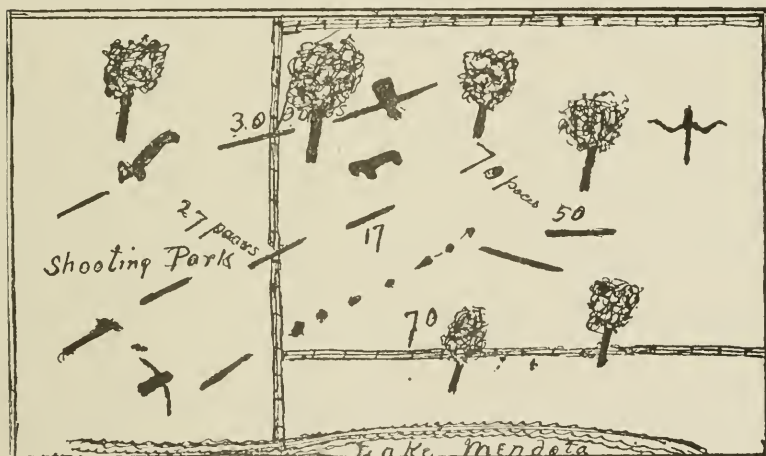


Fig. 254.—Game Drive at Shooting Park.

There is a group of effigies on the opposite side of the lake, which is more distinctly a clan emblem. Fig. 253. It consists of a number of effigies of panthers and wolves, with two tortoises, a number of long mounds, and about a hundred burial mounds. One panther seems to be guarding the burial mounds; another seems to form a part of the game drive; while the wolves may have served as screens for hunters. There is a mingling here not so much of clan emblems as of offices, different uses having been made of the effigies. The two groups are opposite one another.

2. The record of the hunting places of the people is left upon the soil. The dream gods, or game gods, have been mentioned. They perform a part in the real life of the Indians hardly appreciated by white men. The groups of effigies which we are about to describe will show how important a part in the life of

the effigy-builders. We have said that these people were great hunters. Proof of this is given in the number of game drives which have been recognized. There is scarcely a clan habitat in which there are not several of these game drives. A different drive seems to have been used for different kinds of game, such as the deer, buffalo, elk, and moose. The game drives generally furnish a picture which is very easily interpreted. There is a game drive on the north side of Lake Monona, east of Madison, between the shooting park and Mill's Woods. It represents the buffalo as the game and the bear as the prey god. The eagle, pigeon and wild goose are numerous in the vicinity. Fig. 254.

Nearly all the Indians of the hunter class are known to have their dreams, in which animals figure conspicuously. They rarely undertake hunting expeditions without dreams. They

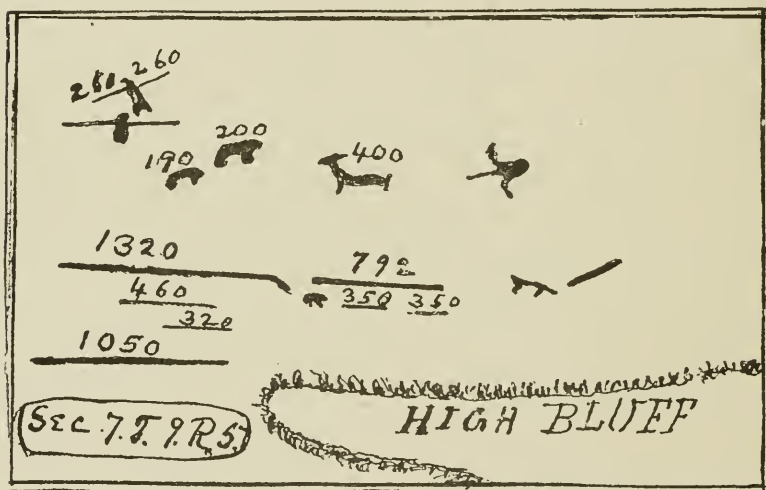


Fig. 255—Picture of a Hunting Scene as Conceived by the Effigy-builders.

went to war under the protection of dream gods. The young men were initiated after they had had dreams, and always bore the figure of the dream god about their person. All writers who are acquainted with the habits of the Indians speak of these superstitions.

We think that any one who looks upon the picture given herewith (See Fig. 255), and notices the long mounds in proximity to these, the effigies of the fox, the bears, the deer, the eagles, and the bird, will not fail to see that it is a game drive, and perpetuates the superstition which the people had about the different animals. We certainly have the prey gods and the game gods, and the clan divinities all associated here together. It is a lively scene, and one which brings the wild hunters very near to us. There is another group also corresponding to this, on the Wisconsin river, section 5, town 10, range 7 east, in which the

buffalo or elk is the game, the swallow is the clan emblem and the fox is the prey god. The group at Merritt's Landing shows that the mink was the clan emblem, the elk was the game, the wolf and the bear the prey gods. These groups are so numerous and convey the idea to us so plainly that we have not a doubt of the correctness of the interpretation.

3. There is a class of earth-works and effigies which is very common in the state, and which is repeated in nearly every clan habitat. We refer to those long lines of mounds which resemble earth walls broken into fragments, with openings between them. They are generally built upon the summit of high bluffs and run the entire length of the ridges. They may have been used for the purpose of watching game, and been raised above the level of the surface so as to give an unobstructed view. There is no class of mounds more numerous than this. We have discovered one such line near Potosi. It has the effigy

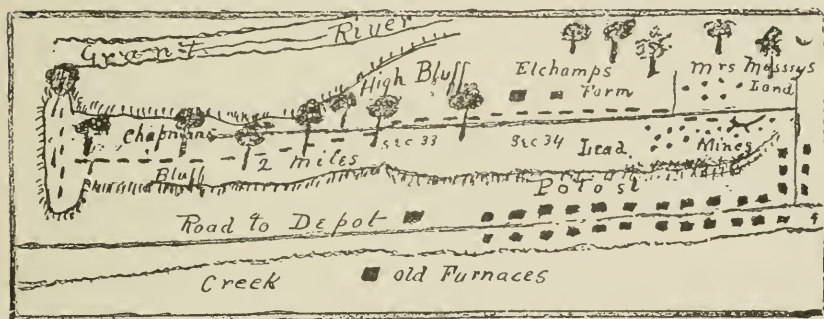


Fig. 256.—Mounds near Potosi.

of a panther at one end. This panther is surrounded by the holes which were left from the old lead mines. Fig. 256. The line extends from this point for two or three miles until it reaches the edge of the bluff, which overlooks the Mississippi river. Another similar line was discovered on the bluff just north of Governor Dewey's house, which is now in ruins, on land belonging to General Newberry, of Chicago. This land runs parallel to the river for two or three miles and commands a view of it throughout the whole length. Another line is situated on a bluff above Wyalusing, near the mouth of the Wisconsin river. Still another, near Bridgeport, six miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin river. A similar line may be seen north of Lake Koshkonong. Still another on the south shore of Lake Puckaway, near Marquette. All of these overlook some group of mounds situated on the lower lands, but command extensive views. One interpretation which has come to us is, that they were designed for hunters, as roadways by which they could run while watching the game, which were driven down to the villages and hemmed in between the game drives and there shot, or road-

ways so sentinels or watchmen could run from their lookout stations toward the villages. Either supposition is plausible, for they generally have a lookout point at one end and overlook the villages or game drives at the other end. They could hardly have been used as screens or barriers to intercept game, for many of them are erected along the edge of some narrow cliff or ridge, over which it would be impossible to drive the game.

There are, to be sure, a few lines of mounds resembling these, which have been placed along the edge of bluffs, overlooking the rivers, which remind us of the custom of the Indian hunters, of making fences of brush with gaps or openings, through which they would drive the deer. One such barrier or screen is located

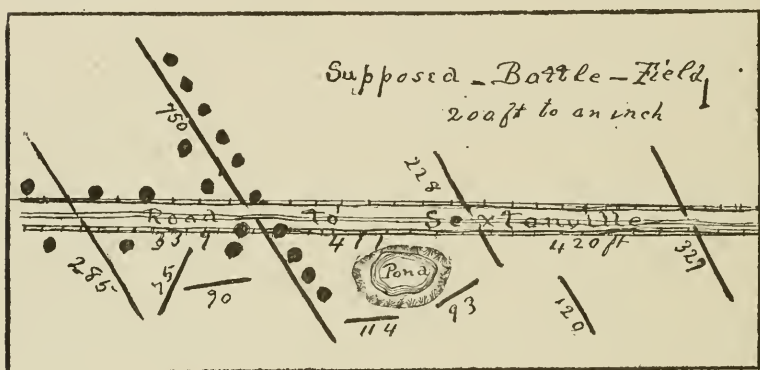


Fig. 257. — Battle-field.

on the Wisconsin river, between the bridge to Muscoda and Orion, scattered along at intervals between the long mounds. Many so-called screens have been noticed as built along the edge of swamps and lakes, close to the water. These are formed from long mounds and effigies. Their object is plain. They were designed for the sportsmen, who would hide behind them and shoot into the flocks of geese and ducks which were floating on the water. One such screen has been noticed at White lake, near Lake Mills. Occasionally effigies are seen along the edge of swails, which would be feeding places for deer and elk. These were also used as screens. They were mechanical contrivances, but the clan emblem, or the emblem of the game itself, would constitute the screen. These were all contrivances of the hunter, designed for different kinds of game. They show great familiarity with the habits of the animals which were hunted. For this reason we think our interpretation of the long mounds is a correct one.

4. Another class of effigies, concerning which there is some obscurity, consists of parallel rows of long mounds, round mounds and effigies. It is a question whether these were used

for game drives, burial places, or to mark the scene of some battle. The figure given illustrates the class. See Fig. 257.

This group is situated on the level prairie, but five miles north of Richmond Centre, on the Wisconsin river, one mile south of Sextonville. There are effigies half a mile north and garden-bed half a mile south of this group. We have called it a battle-field, though it may have been used as a game drive. Some of the game drives have long mounds, with round mounds scattered at intervals, making them seem like tally strings.

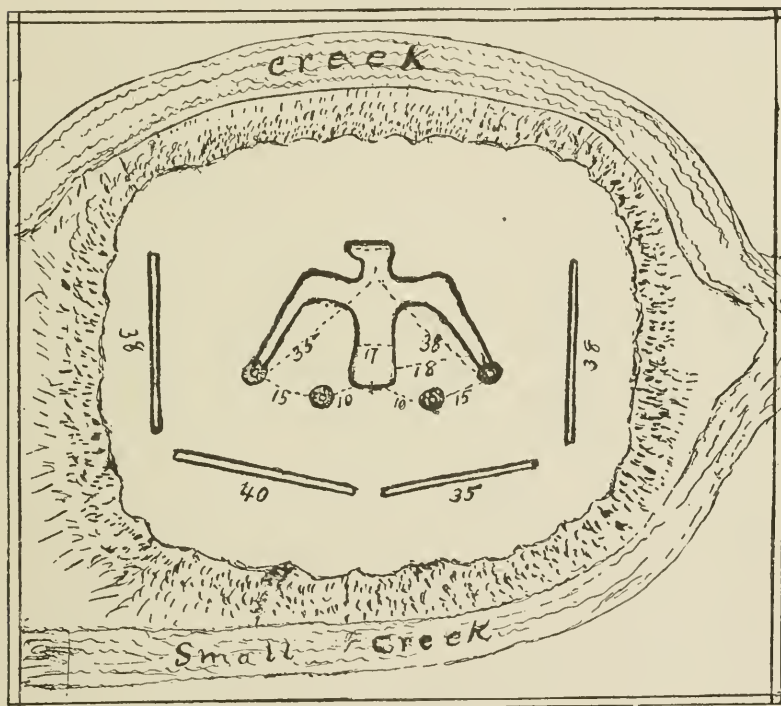


Fig. 21.—Citadel.

5. There is a class of effigies which we shall mention as the one which is most thoroughly baffling to interpretation. It consists of a cluster of effigies arranged about an area so as to make a quasi enclosure. These clusters are frequently placed at the end of a long line of effigies. They remind us of the rock inscriptions in Arizona. They seem to be symbolic. Our conjecture is that they mark the place of some ceremony or religious feast, or of some council house, and are suggestive of some secret society. A specimen is given in the cut. This, as will be seen, consists of four or five mounds, which surround an effigy mound. There are round mounds at the end of the wings

of the effigy. The group is situated on an isolated swell of ground, and covers the entire spot. It is situated at the end of a line of swallows, which is the clan emblem of the region. The impression is that it was the place for the celebration of some mystery. It is, perhaps, only another of those clusters which Mr. S. Taylor calls citadels. There are many of these works scattered over the state. Their object is still unknown. Many of these so-called citadels (see Fig. 258) are placed upon high ground and command an extensive view. This one is upon low ground, but is isolated from the surrounding region by dry channels upon either side. There is a high mound at the other end of the long line of effigies which commands a view down the river. It is said that signals could be exchanged between this and Boscobel, some five miles away.

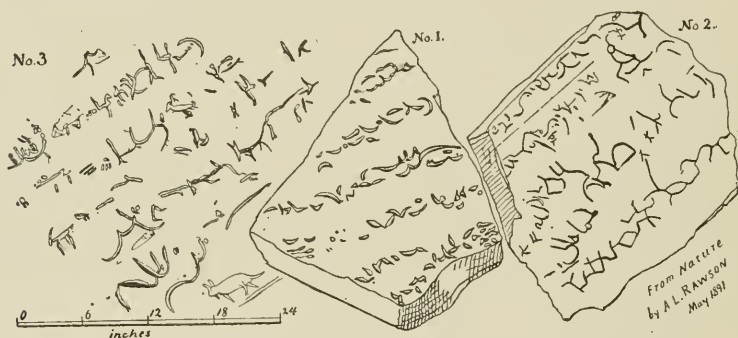


Fig. 259.—Picture Writing, Tennessee.

6. The last point which we shall bring out is, that there may have been a kind of picture writing embodied in some of the groups. This may be a mere conjecture, but there are so many groups which can be explained in no other way. We would here call attention to the rock inscriptions which have been recently discovered in Tennessee. See Fig. 259. These inscriptions are composed mainly of animal figures. The figures are in rows; they differ from the ordinary inscriptions in this respect. There are other rock inscriptions which contain animals in all sorts of attitudes. The comparison between some of the groups of effigies and these rock inscriptions is very suggestive; no key has yet been found to unlock the mystery; they have not been interpreted. So with the effigies, they contain a record for which there is no key. We leave these groups unexplained. They seem to embody the history of the different clans—at least the totems of the different clans arranged around one another in such a way as to be very expressive. The language is not understood, yet they are strained almost to the point of utterance. We can hardly regard them as mere works of fancy. There is an unknown record in them which baffles interpretation.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMPARISON OF THE EFFIGY-BUILDERS WITH
THE MODERN INDIANS.

We have in previous papers given a description of the effigy mounds—their shapes, attitudes, locations, and have undertaken to explain their object and interpret their significance, but have not heretofore undertaken to compare them with the work of any other prehistoric people. The recent appearance of two volumes from the Ethnological Bureau, one of which gives a description of the mounds, the other the Dakota myths, leads us to institute such a comparison, with a thought that it may furnish us with a key to certain unsolved problems which have been presented by the effigies. These problems have relation (1) to the area of the tribe which built the effigies; (2) to the religious system which led to their erection; (3) the question whether the effigies contained any record of the people; (4) the question of the clan life and its resemblance to modern clans. There are other problems which we do not expect to entirely clear up; but we believe that the study which has been given to the effigies, taken as a whole, and the comparison of the system contained in them will have removed the mystery which has heretofore covered them, and that a satisfactory basis may be reached, on which we may build the record of the prehistoric age.

I. We shall begin with the consideration of the tribal area of the effigy-builders.

1. This people were situated in the state of Wisconsin, a state which in many respects resembles the state of New York, especially in the fact that there are so many beautiful inland lakes within its borders.

2. The effigy-builders seem to have been composed of a single tribe who held supreme sway in this state for a long time during the prehistoric age, and here developed their social life free from interference from other tribes.

3. The area of the effigy builders corresponded with the area known to have been occupied by the Winnebagoes as late as the beginning of the settlements by the whites.

4. Effigies are found in Iowa and Minnesota, showing that the people were at peace with the people who were then occupying that region. This confirms what we have said about the Winnebagoes, for they were a branch of the Dakotas and were at peace with them.

5. The custom of building effigies in stone prevailed in the

region occupied by the Dakotas, making it probable that this wide-spread stock were the actual effigy-builders.

6. The comparison of the effigies to the inscriptions contained in the caves of Iowa show a remarkable resemblance, making it probable that the same general people left their records in the entire region.

These are the points which are brought out by recent discoveries. They confirm what we have already said in reference to the effigy-builders, and we shall, therefore, take them up in their order.

1. Let us first take up the location of the different groups outside of the state.

It is due to Mr. T. H. Lewis that these groups have been brought to light, and we shall refer to his descriptions and quote them in detail. Mr. Lewis says on examining the delineations very important differences in class and style from those farther east are discernible. These differences, however, are not such

as to conflict with what we have said, for the same animals are represented and the effigies are built in the same way, and prove to be the totems of the very same clans.



Fig. 260.—Effigies near LaCrescent, Minn.

We shall begin with the group opposite LaCrescent. See Fig. 260. This group was situated on a terrace above the Mississippi River. It consists of a number of round mounds. Among them is an effigy of a frog. Near it is the effigy of a bird, and within a quarter of a mile there are five other bird effigies and sixty-nine round mounds. The frog is about ninety-eight feet long. It is near the site of Hokah, on the Root River, (Heyokah is the name of a Dakota divinity). He is represented in a sprawling attitude. Its full length is sixty-two feet.

There are two bird effigies on a terrace some 10 feet below this, and formerly there existed several other effigies, 30 or 40 round mounds and several embankments. Near Richmond Station, on a terrace 24 feet above the river, is a bird effigy with wings spread, measuring 76 feet from tip to tip and 44 feet from head to tail, and a number of ordinary mounds in the vicinity. Near the village of Dakota, Minnesota, also on a terrace, is the effigy of a fish with fins in the midst of 19 ordinary mounds. It measures 110 feet in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. Mr. Lewis says this is the only fish effigy in which the fins are visible.

These effigies are opposite Trempeleau County, Wisconsin, and may help us to decide as to the totem of the clan which dwelt there. Judge Gale, of Galesville, states that there are

about one thousand effigies in the county, but he does not specify what animals are imitated. We may say that the frog is rather an unusual effigy, but the birds resemble those to be found on the Lemonwier River, where the pigeon clan is supposed to have had its habitat.

These are all of the localities in the state of Minnesota in which effigies have been recognized. Mr. Lewis, however, found several localities in Northeastern Iowa, the very region in which the cave inscriptions were discovered. The first group which he has discovered was at MacGregor, opposite Prairie du Chien. This group stretches along the line of the bluff, which forms the dividing ridge between two streams. The bluff is 500 feet high and rises perpendicularly above the Mississippi River. The Yellow River is to the northwest and the Bloody Run is

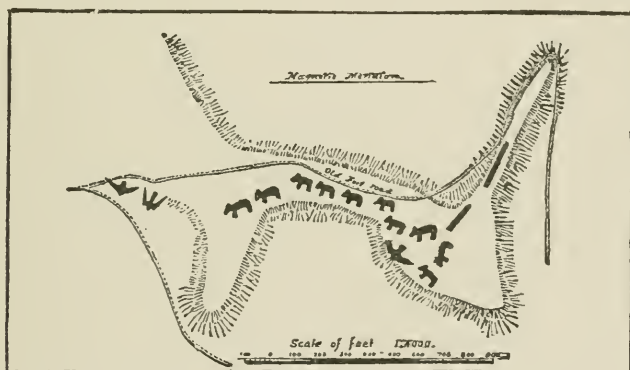


Fig. 261.—Effigies near MacGregor, Iowa.

to the southwest of this ridge. The row of mounds consists of two long embankments, one 190 feet long, 18 feet wide, the other 130 feet long and 18 feet wide, and ten clumsy but tailless animals, which were probably designed to represent the bear. They vary from 79 to 109 feet in length and from 2 to 3 feet in height. These birds resemble the swallow effigies (see Fig. 261) which are found in such great numbers in Crawford County, Wisconsin, and the animals resemble the bear effigies which are found in the same region. The swallow was the clan emblem or totem of the people who lived between the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers. Mr. Lewis says that near Mr. McGill's, three miles above Clayton, there is a group of ninety-two mounds, two of which represent animals, two birds; the remainder are round mounds and embankments.* There are also three

*The surveyors of the Ethnological Bureau discovered in the same region several elk effigies. They had horns projecting forward, very much as elk carry their horns, a style of representing them which is peculiar to this particular region.

birds which have their wings spread and their heads near the edge of the bluff. He visited also the group of mounds situated on the Minnesota (St. Peter's) River, (N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 26, T. 313, R. 2, E.) which Mr. William Pigeon in his famous book has called the black tortoise group. He says the central figure corresponds with the description given by Mr. Pigeon. It is the only one out of all of the groups which were described that could be identified. He says that the location of the majority of the mounds was incorrectly given. The account is entirely unreliable.

Mr. Lewis also visited several localities in Northern Illinois. The following is the list of effigies here: (1.) The well known turtle mound which is situated within the city limits of Rock-

ford, west side. Its length is 184 feet, its height from 3 to 4 feet. Near it is a bird effigy and seven round mounds and two embankments. (2.) On the east side of the river, five miles below Rockford (on N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 14, T. 43, R. 1 E.), is a group of three embankments, two round mounds and a bird effigy. The size of the bird is 45 feet long, 68 feet across the wings. The group is on a bank forty-five feet above the

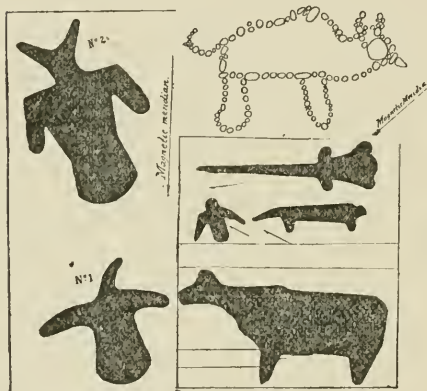


Fig. 262—Effigies in Illinois.*

river. See Fig. 262. (3.) Near the village of Hanover, in Jo Davies County is a group of twenty-three round mounds, ten embankments and a large animal effigy measuring 216 feet in length, height about 5 feet. There is an embankment running out from the foreleg of the animal 170 feet long. See Fig. 262. Ten miles east of Freeport on the north side of the Pecatonica River (S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 13, T. 27, R. 9 E.) is a group consisting of seven round mounds, an embankment and an animal effigy measuring 116 feet in length. Fig. 262, No. 3. These groups evidently belong to the same clans as were located in Wisconsin—the turtle at Rockford to the turtle clan whose center was at Beloit, the large quadruped near Hanover to the bear clan, which was located near to the Blue Mounds. (4.) Mr. Lewis describes the groups of effigies on the Fox River, near Aurora. One group consists of several round mounds and two effigies representing birds, one a duck, the other probably an owl, as it has horns

*The outline figure of the buffalo is one which was found by Mr. T. H. Lewis near some lodg circles in Dakota, and afterwards visited by the agents of the survey. It represents the custom of erecting totems near the lodges or villages, and was probably a clan rather than an individual totem. It contrasts with earth effigies, yet has the animal shape.

above the head. See No. 2. The second group consisted of two bird effigies, one elliptical mound and thirteen round mounds. These two groups are situated on a terrace north of the city limits. They mark the southeast limits of the effigy mounds, but show that the effigy-builders followed the streams and made their habitats in the valleys of the streams.

2. We would here refer to the fact that according to all explorers the construction of these effigies is exactly the same. The quadrupeds have projections on one side which represent the legs, and occasionally two small projections at the head for the ears or horns. The amphibious creatures always have four equal projections for the legs, and frequently have one for the head.* The birds are constructed with projections at either side, which

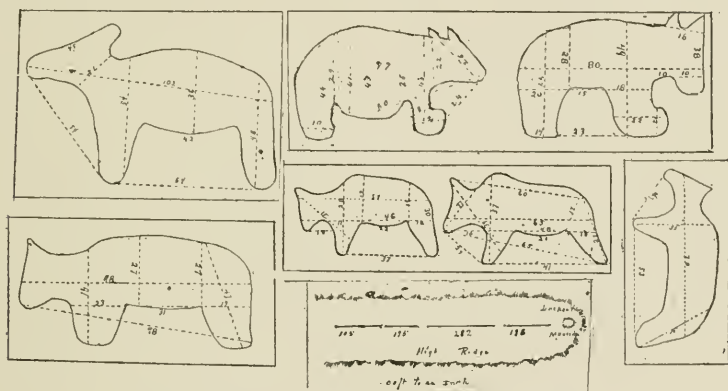


Fig. 263.—Effigies of Quadrupeds brought to a Scale.†

represent their wings, and very seldom have their legs visible. Furthermore, the beauty, symmetry and life-like resemblance of these effigies impress those who see them as do the effigies within the state. The agreement is important, for it confirms the points which have been taken by the writer, though it brings out one or two additional features, especially in reference to the manner of representing the legs of the animals. Mr. Lewis says it is probable that each leg as built was intended to represent a pair of legs rather than a single one. The report says that in some of the effigies in Grant County, Wisconsin, each leg was divided into two by a slight depression, as if the intent

* This is uniformly the method wherever the effigies are found, whether in Ohio, in Georgia or in Wisconsin.

† These effigies were measured by the writer, when in company with Dr. Thomas and a party of surveyors, but were platted independently. They represent the male and female bear at Hazen's Corners. The moose effigy was found on the bluff above Wyalusing. A similar moose was afterward found near Merritt's Landing, also on a bluff overlooking the lake. Two of the buffalo effigies were found in the same region, on the north side of Buffalo Lake, the name and the effigies remarkably corresponding. The two smaller buffalos were found near Mineral Springs, and represent the male and female buffalo. The line of embankments in the cut represents, on a small scale, a line which was discovered near Bussyville, north of Lake Koshkonong. It represents part of a game-drive, the lookout and the elevated runway or roadway for hunters, which was connected with a game-drive near the lake.

was to make the projection represent the two legs. In reference to the shape of the head and the division of the ears the report agrees with the testimony of Mr. Lewis and that of the author. These are sometimes plainly represented and help us to identify the animal, though the distinction between the horns and the ears is not easily recognized in some of the effigies.*

The report further says. "The feeling for correct form is indicated by the outline which defines the forehead by the curves of the back and belly; and of the gambol joints of the legs, as well as by the relief which expresses the rotundity and relative prominence of the parts." This agreement in the testimony of the explorers is important. It shows that there are no great differences between the effigies on the two sides of the river. It shows further that the descriptions which we have already given of the beauty and variety of the effigies were correct.†

2. Now in reference to these groups of effigies we make this point, that they only extend the area of the tribe a little way beyond the state, but do not break the unity of the system. From them we learn the exact boundaries of the habitat of the effigy-builders and find that it corresponds most remarkably with the boundaries of the territory of the Winnebago tribe, and not only this, but they correspond with the location of the Winnebago villages.‡

Still we must remember that there were effigies in other states—two bird effigies in Georgia; an alligator at Granville, Ohio; and a quadruped on the Scioto River; bird track at Newark; a serpent effigy in Adams County; a thunder-bird in Clermont County. Mr. Lewis thinks he has discovered effigies on the Missouri River and in Minnesota. These effigies are all made after the same plan as those in Wisconsin—the birds with projections on two sides, the alligators with two projections on each side, the quadrupeds with two projections on one side, serpents with no projections, but with tortuous bodies.

The most of these effigies were placed upon hill-tops over-

*We would refer here to the figures of the moose and bear effigies as compared with the moose discovered by Mr. Lewis near the town of Hanover, Illinois. The plating brings out the peculiar shapes of the bear effigies and shows the variety of expression which was given to them. The same figures are given in the report, but they fail to bring out the attitudes.

†We here refer to the celebrated elephant effigy, which has been so often visited and furnished so much material for discussion in reference to the age of the mound-builders. The members of the Ethnological Bureau have surveyed this effigy and produced a cast of it for the exposition at New Orleans. This survey confirms what we have said about the effigy. It is a gigantic figure of the clan totem of the region, which was the bear. We first mentioned the buffalo and bear as associated together, and were not certain as to which was represented. Subsequent exploration satisfied us that it was the bear.

‡There were Winnebago villages laid down on the early maps, especially in Farmer's map, at several of the places where these groups have been discovered. Furthermore, the trail which was followed by General Long in his early exploring expedition crossed the various rivers, such as Fox, Rock, Pecatonica and the Mississippi, at the very points where these groups are situated, and the map of the expedition contains a record of the mounds at these very points. Mr. Lewis, to be sure, thinks he has discovered effigies on the Missouri River and on the Crow Wing River, 150 miles distant, and he fixes the limits of the effigies at these points. The territory of the effigy-builders did not, however, extend to these points, but these are detached from the tribal area, just as are the great serpent and alligator mound in Ohio and the serpent mound near Quincy, Ill.

looking river valleys. They show in their location, as well as in their shapes and manner of construction, that they were built by the same or a similar people as the effigies of Wisconsin were, and render it probable that the ancestors of the effigy-builders originally had their seats upon the Ohio River, and before that, east of the Alleghenies. This is in accord with the traditions of the Dakotas that their ancestors formerly dwelt on the Ohio, and many hundred years ago migrated westward.

3. The resemblance of the effigies to the rock inscriptions is to be considered. We have spoken of the fish effigies. There are many figures of fishes in the sides of the pictured caves of Iowa; also figures of deer in the caves of Wisconsin. These are made

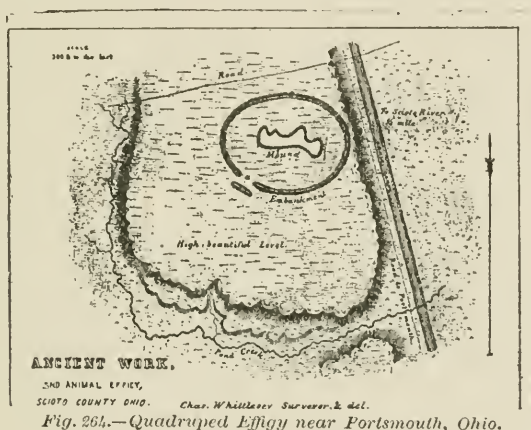


Fig. 264.—Quadruped Effigy near Portsmouth, Ohio.

with more regard to the details of fins and horns than was possible in the case of the effigies; but there is, nevertheless, a striking resemblance. There are deer effigies at Madison in which the two horns and the four legs are visible, and elk effigies in Grant County in which the projecting horns are plainly seen.

There are also some fish effigies on the west shore of Lake Koshkonong which have the fins as plainly marked as these in Minnesota. Moreover, these fish effigies resemble the inscriptions found in the caves of Eastern Iowa, giving the idea that they were erected by the same people as those who left the inscriptions. Possibly they were both designed to be pictographs which contain the record of successful fishing, or the claim of the clan to the fishing ground.

There are also fish effigies at Delevan Lake and Lake Monona, and the west side of Lake Koshkonong, localities where there are good fishing grounds at the present time. The particular kind of fish is not discoverable in the effigies, for they are so worn by the elements. But so far as they have been recognized they are the same as those which still abound in the lakes. This

constitutes one point of difference between the effigies and the pictographs. The pictographs contain the figures of suckers, red-horse and buffalo, species which abound in the Mississippi River; while the effigies seem to represent pickerel, which abound in the lakes. See Figs. 260 and 265.

4. The history of the Winnebago tribe is next to be considered. The earliest that is known of this people is that at the time of Nicolet's first visit, in 1634, they were situated at Red Banks, near Green Bay. They were afterwards called Puants by the French missionaries, but by the Algonquins, Winnepekoak, which means people of the fetid water, "winne," "water," and "pekoak," "foul." The proper meaning is "salt water." And it is believed that they once reached the salt water. They were a branch of the Dakotas and were, less than a thousand years ago, a part of the same people.* Allouez says that in

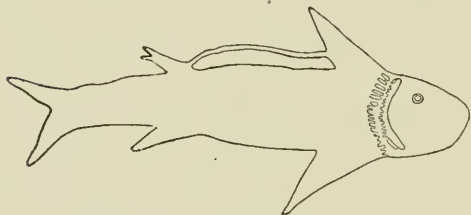


Fig. 265.—Fish in Pictured Cave, Iowa.



Fig. 266.—Deer in Pictured Cave in Wisconsin.

1640 they had almost been destroyed by the Illinois. But he found the Ojibwas in council whether to take up arms against them. They had long held their position and were on good terms with the Mascoutens, Menominees, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, who lived in different parts of the state, and held it as a common possession between them. Paul LeJeune, in speaking of the tribes that dwelt on Lake Michigan, says, "still farther on dwell the Quinipegon, who are very numerous." "In the neighborhood of this nation are the Naduessi (Sioux), and the Assiniponais (Assiniboinés).

Green Bay was occupied by the Menominees and Sauks, and the adjacent Lake Winnebago by the Winnebagoes, which was a great centre of population. Allouez and Dablon paddled up to Lake Winnebago and the mouth of Upper Fox, which they ascended to visit the town of Mascoutens. At the time of Carver's visit in 1766, he found a village at Red Banks, though the band had moved westward and had their village on the Wisconsin River.

Jedediah Morse in 1820 says that they had five villages on

*Dr. S. R. Riggs, in contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. ix, p. 189.

the lake and fourteen villages on Rock River. The Menominees had villages at Buttes des Morts, at Winneconne and Poygan. The Winnebagoes paid a tribute of corn, potatoes and pumpkins to the Menominees for the privilege of staying on their territory. Oshkosh was the home of a band under Pushan, whose planting ground was at Algoma. A band with 300 lodges lived at Black Wolf, on Wolf River, the town taking the name from the Pottawottamie chief. The Menominee chief was called Pouwagumau in 1795, elected chief in 1821 and died in 1858. The name Oshkosh* means hoof or toe-nail. The Winnebagoes in 1831 joined the Black Hawks, and soon after ceded all the lands south of the Fox River. They were removed to the Turkey River in Eastern Iowa, but have never really given up their original domain, and they still make their home in the forest between the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers.

This history is important, for it identifies the ancient seat of the Winnebagoes with the habitat of the effigy-builders and enables us to draw the difference between the Algonquin and Dakota tribes. The Algonquins had a totem system which resembled that of the Dakotas in some respects. But they did not build effigies or erect standing stones or place any such record on the soil. The Algonquin tribes, such as the Pottowattamies and Menominees, occupied the state in common with the Winnebagoes. But their villages, cornfields and fishing camps can be easily distinguished from the tokens of the effigy-builders, for there was a great difference between them. The history also helps us to identify the location of the villages with those of the groups of effigies, for there were Winnebago villages even as late as 1837, when the first settlement of Wisconsin began, at nearly all of the points where the most prominent groups of effigies are located, at Beloit, Lake Koshkonong, Lake Mendota, Lake Winnebago, Red Bank, near Green Bay, Sauk Prairie, on the Wisconsin, and near Marquette, on the Upper Fox.

II. The comparison of the religion of the effigy builders with that which we know to have been the religion of the Dakotas is another important point.

1. As to the prevalence of serpent worship, we have shown that there were serpent effigies in Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Dakota, and that all of these were situated along the line of migration, which, according to the tradition of the Dakotas, was followed by their ancestors on reaching their later seats on the Mississippi and Upper Missouri Rivers. This tribe, according to the testimony of Dr. Horatio Hale, was once located southeast of the Allegheney Mountains in North Carolina, Virginia and Eastern Tennessee, but they gradually passed over the Ohio Valley and down that river to the Valley of the Mississippi River.

*See history of Oshkosh. Also history of Winnebago Co.

We may conclude from this that the Winnebagoes were not only effigy-builders, but that they were serpent worshipers, and that these various serpents were their work. This seems to be confirmed by tradition and aboriginal history; for there is a tradition among the Delawares and Iroquois that "the great snake people" formerly dwelt along with another people called Alligehewi, on the Ohio River, and that their ancestors after a long and bloody battle drove them from their seats and took possession of

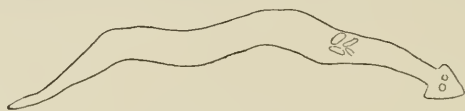


Fig. 267.—Serpent in Pictured Cave, Iowa.

their territory. Now this remarkable correspondence between the tradition and the record of the effigies is worthy of notice; for it brings up another point.

2. We have shown that the serpent effigies in Wisconsin present the same peculiarities as do the great serpent in Adams County, Ohio, the serpent effigy near Quincy, Ill., and the serpent made of standing stones discovered in Dakota. They are conformed to the shape of the ground on which they are located, and bring out the resemblance of the cliffs or bluffs to the serpent, which was recognized by the builders of the effigies. We do not know that this peculiar conception or fashion was followed by any other tribe, though it was a common supposition among all the tribes that whenever any object in nature presented any resemblance to an animal, that that object was haunted by the animal spirit, and so was feared as a divinity. But the fashion of erecting an effigy at the place was followed only by the people who migrated along this route and who left their serpent effigies on the hill-tops as signs of their presence. We do not say that the habit of recognizing the resemblance and connecting a myth with the place was confined to this people, for there are localities all over Europe and Asia where local myths accom-



Fig. 268.—Serpent in Pictured Cave, Iowa.

pany such places. And even Homer speaks of the serpent and the bird which were transformed into stone and their shape perpetuated by the stone image which was familiar to the Greeks. It is not the conception to which we refer here, but the correspondence of the traditionary route of the Dakotas with the location of the effigies which embody it.

Did the Winnebagoes adopt the snake for their general tribal divinity? Or did they use the effigy as a symbol of a more gen-

eral divinity—the symbol of the nature powers, such as the rain or lightning?*

This question we shall not undertake to answer, but shall only refer to the fact that the serpent was a common effigy throughout this entire region, and serpent worship was an important element in the religion of all the effigy-builders, wherever they were.

3. The surrounding of their forts with serpent effigies is another point. We have spoken of Ft. Ancient as having the serpent effigy embodied in its walls. There is, according to the report of the Ethnological Bureau, an enclosure in Pipestone Co., Minn., which has two crescent shaped embankments, each of the embankments being in the shape of a tortuous serpent. The circumference is 2,386 feet. Inside of the enclosure is a mound twenty feet in diameter and four feet high. There is a bastion-like enlargement to the wall and two openings or gateways to the enclosure. Now it is remarkable that the small enclosure or circular earth-work which we discovered at Mineral Springs, near Utley's Quarries, Wisconsin, has its walls in the same tortuous shape as this one in Pipestone County. See Fig. 269. The measurements, which were carefully made, indicate that the



Fig. 269.—Serpent Rins near Mineral Springs.†

bends in the serpent were more regular and uniform than those in the larger enclosure. Mr. Lewis has discovered many serpent effigies in Minnesota. These are important facts, for they bring out the point. This confirms what we have said elsewhere about the sense of protection which was enjoyed by the effigy builders in connection with the serpent. It was not merely an object of fear and a place to be avoided; but the serpent effigy was a familiar form which was as sacred and dear as any other animal tokens, and its effigy was mingled with the animal effigies indiscriminately. We refer here to the fact that there are many serpent figures in caves of Iowa, and these resemble in appearance the serpent effigies in Wisconsin. Some of them appear to be rattlesnakes, others are without rattles. We give cuts of two of these taken from Mr. Lewis' drawings, and will call attention to the resemblance to the effigies discovered in Grant County and Green Lake County.

4. It is noticable that the Dakotas had a system of mythology which embraced serpent worship. The Hidatsa make occasional offerings to the great serpent that dwells in the Missouri

* For this see Twelfth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, last chapter.

† At this place a stream, which falls into the ground above the spring, bursts out again, suggesting the idea of the serpent divinity, which was a subaqueous or subteranean god.

River by placing poles in the river, attaching to them sundry robes or colored blankets. It is probable that the robe which Hennepin saw and took away from near St. Anthony's Falls was an offering to the same divinity. The Mandans and the Winnebagoes both had a tradition about a certain youth who was changed into a huge serpent.

Oonktaha is the god of the waters. His external form is said to resemble the ox or buffalo, though his horns and tail reach to the skies. The dwelling place of the male is in the water; the spirit of the female animates the earth. One of these gods, it is believed, dwells under the Falls of St. Anthony.† These divinities have been described by Rev. A. L. Riggs, J. O. Dorsey, Rev. Gideon Pond, Mrs. Eastman and Miss Alice Fletcher.‡ The



Fig. 270—Thunder-Bird and Lightning God.

following is the description given by Mr. Riggs: Wakinya is the god of thunder, or the thunder bird. He is represented with drooping wings §

There are four varieties. One is black with a long beak, four joints in his wing; another yellow, who has six quills; a third, scarlet, which has eight joints; the fourth is blue, and has semi-circular lines for eyebrows, from beneath which shoot downwards two chains of zigzag lightning.|| This divinity dwells in a lodge on a beautiful mound, which has a doorway toward each of the cardinal points, with a watcher at each door—a butterfly at the east, a bear at the west, a reindeer at the north and a beaver at the south.

*Maximillian Travels in N. A., p. 369. Bourke's Study of Siouan Cults, p. 508.

† The Winnebagoes had a clan which was called the *Waktceki*. They believe that there are subterranean and aquatic powers which dwell under the ground and in the high bluffs, as well as in subterranean water, and that they uphold the earth, trees, rivers, and are the enemies of the thunder beings. They have long bodies, with horns on their heads. (See Eleventh Annual Report.) The thunder beings are birds called *Wakatacara*. One of the divisions of the bird gens is a thunder being sub-gens. This accounts for the serpent effigies which are found upon the summits of tortuous bluffs. They represent a mythologic divinity which was common among some of the Dakota tribes, though among them it was a sub-aquatic buffalo instead of a serpent.

‡ The mythologies of the Winnebagoes seem to be less known than any other branch of the Dakotas.

§ Gospel among the Dakotas, by Rev. S. R. Riggs, D. D.

|| This reminds us of the Omowuh, the rain cloud of the Moquis.

The moving god, Tu-ku-skan, lives in the four winds. His symbol is the boulder. To his retinue belong the buzzard and raven, fox and the wolf. The Toonkan, the stone god, dwells in the boulders and his symbol is the round or oval boulder, about the size of a man's head. The Heyoka,* the anti-natural god, assumes the human form. He is armed with bow and arrow, but has various animals, such as frogs and birds, flying from his bow. He is represented as having two heads, or a cap with two peaks. This agrees with the testimony of J. O. Dorsey. He adds that the messengers of Unktehi* are serpents, serpents, lizards, frogs, owls and eagles. He also mentions the horned water monsters, called Wahmenitu, the god of the water. This monster has four legs. Its backbone is like a cross-cut

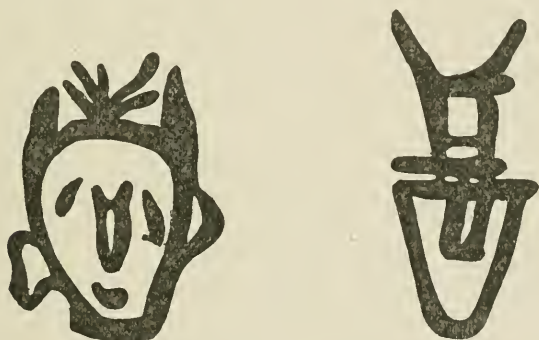


Fig. 271.—Male and Female Water Divinity.†

saw. It has red hair all over and one eye. They think that it causes the ice in the river to break up in the spring of the year. The thunder gods are birds of terrific proportions. They created the wild rice and prairie grass.‡

It is very remarkable that there are pictographs or rock inscription in eastern Iowa which embody these very myths, and these can be identified with the particular Gods of the Dakotas.§ One of these has the shape of an immense bird with drooping wings, and with a serpent shooting out from the head. The feathers in the wings were probably intended to symbolize the rain, and the serpent to symbolize the lightning. Another of these is in the shape of a massive human face, with horns rising above the face. Another figure designed to represent the same god has the horns very prominent, the rude semblance of a face,

* Oonktayha is Dr. Riggs' spelling.

† These are from the rock inscriptions, but they may be compared to the effigies. The effigy near Aurora has horns and body like one of these. There are wings or arms in the effigy, but they are lacking in the inscribed figure. Fig. 262. The Unktehi are subaqueous and subterranean beings.

‡ See American Antiquarian, Vol. II., No. 4, p. 270. Also 11th Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 445.

§ These have already been described in the work on Myths and Symbols and Personal Gods.

and a figure which may be intended for the body. These possibly may represent the male and female—the abode of the male is the water, and the female, the earth.

In Reno Cave, Houston County, Minn., is a figure which represents a man with large hands; a body in the conventional way; a disk in the center of the body, and a crooked head—the hands representing the clouds, the crooked head, the lightning, the disk, the sun. In Lamoille Cave in Minnesota is a figure of a man with upraised arms. The upper parts of the arms are in shapes of trees or plants. See Fig. 272. These figures evidently embody the mythology of the Dakotas, and were probably made by the Winnebagoes. The comparison of certain effigies with these



Fig. 272.—Human Tree.

pictographs proves quite suggestive. To illustrate: There is an effigy in Clermont County, Ohio, which seems to represent the thunder bird or Wakinya. This effigy is situated upon a hill-top overlooking a series of earth-works or enclosures, and is itself contained within an enclosure whose gateways are all guarded by double walls. It has the shape of a bird with outspread wings and is furnished with four projections on either side to represent the plumes, the whole enclosure with its elaborate gateways and its lofty situation and the effigy within it conveying the same impression—that the bird was held sacred by the builders. We will add to this, one more, namely, the man with two heads, which was discovered by Mr. Taylor on the banks of the Wisconsin. Wonderful stories are told among the Dakotas of



Fig. 273.—Heyoka and Anungite.*

a being with two faces. It is possible that the effigy of the man with two faces, which was discovered near Muscoda, was intended to represent this divinity. These may seem to be mere conjectures, and we do not build much upon them, but there is no other explanation of these figures, nor of the composite mounds in which the various animals and birds are mingled

* Being with two faces.—Dorsey, Eleventh Report of the Ethnological Bureau.

together, than that they represented some mythological creatures. The human effigy described by Mr. W. H. Canfield may possibly represent one of these divinities, as it resembles the pictographs in some respects. The best specimen, however, at least the one that is most suggestive, is the human effigy which was discovered by the writer in company with F. W. Putnam near the schoolhouse at Baraboo. This effigy was situated at the south end of a line of burial mounds; was lying on a slope of a hill. One arm was partially raised, the other was akimbo. Only one leg could be seen. The only explanation of the effigy is that it was an effigy of the divinity Heyoka, who is always represented as having one leg and an arm partially raised. See Fig. 274.

5. The customs of the modern Indians in celebrating their dances and feasts and sacred mysteries clear up many points. These dances and mysteries have been described.

If we compare these descriptions with those that are furnished by Catlin and other earlier writers we shall find a remarkable correspondence, and not only this, but we secure a very satisfactory explanation of certain groups of effigies.

Now it is to be noticed that there are certain groups or lines of effigies which can be easily explained on the supposition that they were the place where mysteries were held. One such group is situated near Blue Mounds. It consists of a long line of effigies at one end, a lookout mound at the other and a circle in the middle. Another group was discovered by the writer at Port Andrews. There was a high mound which commanded an extensive view at one end, an enclosure at the other end, a line of swallow effigies which extended nearly a mile along the river under the overhanging cliffs.

Miss Alice Fletcher has described the mystery of the elk lodge and the dances connected with it. One peculiarity of these dances was that the members occasionally emerged from their tents and marched along through certain familiar spots in procession, making a route sometimes two or three miles and then returning to their dancehouse. "They wore masks resembling heads of elk, antlers shaped from boughs. They followed in a general way a pretty wooded creek and went three or four miles up the valley. Over four hours were passed in this tortuous dance. The whole movement of this dance with its queer posturing and actions was not without grace and produced a lasting impression." It is probable that this group of effigies marked the site of a similar ceremony, and that the march of the dancers

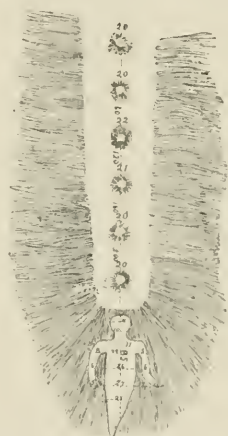


Fig. 274.—Man Effigy, Baraboo.

was along this line. The lookout mound commands a view of the entire group and of another group situated five miles distant on the opposite side of the river.

The explanation of this group is that here on the summit of the hill there was an important tribal burial or other religious ceremony of the tribe, and the various clans assembled here and left the effigies as clan totems upon the surface. We will say



Fig. 275.—*Heyoka, Dakota Divinity.*

further that there are many localities where effigies are clustered around some central ring, and these groups are generally located near some village site, conveying the idea that the members of the different clans were accustomed to assemble in the council houses and on the dance grounds and make a common feast together. Another specimen of a sacred dance circle or mystery lodge is the one which has been discovered at Green Lake. Here there is a ring or circle on the hill-top not far from the village site, and around the ring a number of effigies in various attitudes, among which were recognized the squirrel, fox, eagle and pigeon, all of which were the totems of clans near by. It is possible that these indicate the presence of clans at a dance or feast, and yet the ring suggests a medicine lodge, and reminds us of Catlin's picture of the medicine lodge of the Mandans. Another group is situated at Lake Koshkonong. Here there is a platform mound which has about the same proportions as the sacred lodge of the Dakotas, which was elliptical in shape—twenty feet across and forty feet long.

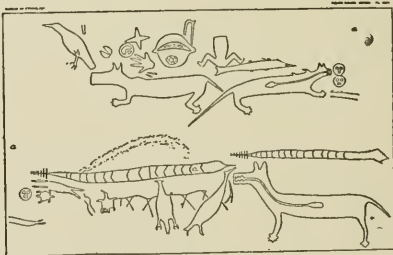


Fig. 276.—*Medicine Lodge in a Shelter Cave.*

Another specimen is one found on the north side of Lake Mendota. This is a group which extends along the edge of the lake for a mile and a half or two miles. There is, at one end of it, a cluster of effigies, in the midst of which was a high conical mound. The effigies are situated on lower ground, but all of them near the water. Among them were recognized the clan totems of all the adjoining clans—the panther, weasel, buffalo, fox, pigeon, bear, eagle, squirrel, and turtle. There are four or

five man mounds in the group; two near the altar mound, two in the midst of the panthers and pigeons.*

The best specimen of all is the one which was described by Mr. W. H. Canfield as situated at Baraboo, in the midst of which he found a circle which was occupied by the later tribes as a site of a council house. Here there are four effigies of wolves, four bear, four mink and one raccoon and one elk surrounding a circle, all of them the emblems of the surrounding clans.†

There is a shelter cave in West Virginia on the sides of which are serpents, quadrupeds and birds, also a death's head or skull and other symbols. This has been pronounced by W. H. Holmes "as a place where some medicine man practiced his mysteries." We may say, however, with as much reason, that the circle among the effigies was also a medicine lodge. See Figs. 276 and 277.

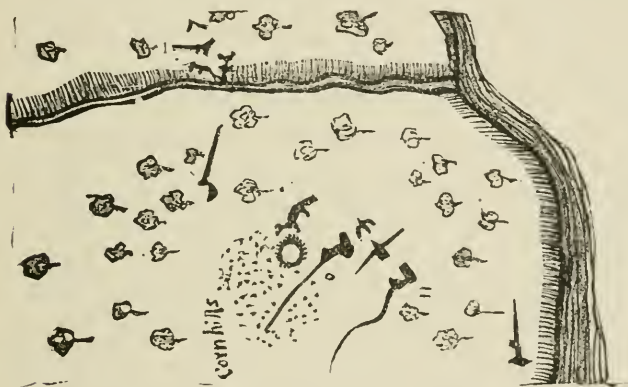


Fig. 277.—Medicine Lodge and Cornfield at Green Lake.

III. This brings us to another point—the comparison of the record contained in the effigies and those which are given by the traditions of the later tribes, especially the Dakotas and Winnebagoes. We have seen that there is much information furnished by the effigies in reference to (1) the migrations of the tribe and the route which they took; (2) in reference to the territory which they reached and its area and boundaries; (3) in reference to the division into clans, and the locations of the clans and clan villages; (4) in reference to the religious customs and

* The mission school of the Winnebagoes in 1832 was on Yellow River, in Allamakee County, Iowa, the very county where the pictographs in the caves are found. The school had been at Prairie du Chien. El Roy, on the Lemonweir River, was also a prominent center of population about the same time. See Wisconsin Winnebagoes, by Moses Paquette, Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XII.

† There were a council house and garden beds at Beloit. The garden beds were situated on the bank of the Rock River, near where the Northwestern depot formerly stood. The first settlers raised their first vegetables on the spot where the garden beds had been. There were corn fields on the bottom of Turtle Creek, near where the athletic grounds are at present. A council house built of bark, forty feet square, with poles in the center supporting the roof, stood near Turtle Creek, where the road to Shopiere crosses the creek, with wigwams standing around it. There were trails which led to Rockton and to Janesville, on each side of the river, and another leading across the prairie toward Delavan Lake. One of these crosses the college campus through the group of mounds.

practices of the people, and even the names of the divinities which they worshiped. These were facts concerning which there was no intent on the part of the effigy-builders to preserve a record, and it is only incidental to the life they led, and especially to the custom of erecting effigies wherever they were, that so much has been preserved upon the soil. Still they bring the people who built the effigies very near to us, and help us to identify them with the people who were occupying the region at the time of the first settlements. (5) We maintain, however, that there were certain events in their history concerning which the effigy-builders did make a record, and that they left this record upon the soil, and that if we compare this with the other records which have been brought down to us from the prehistoric times by the tribes, we shall find the correspondence as striking as before.

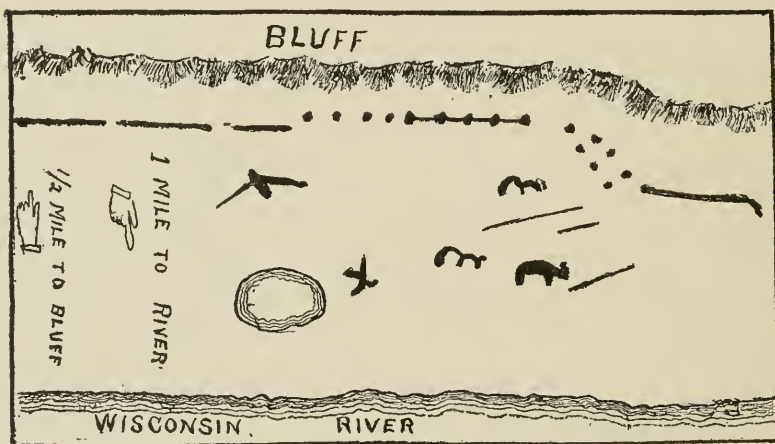


Fig. 278.—Pictograph of a Game Drive.

The comparison of the effigies to the pictographs or mnemonic charts which are extant among the modern tribes, especially among the Dakotas, will then be in place. These pictorial charts may be divided into several classes. (1.) Those which contain the myths and traditions, and especially the migration myths. (2.) Those which relate to the sacred mysteries and which perpetuate the songs and sacred symbols of the aborigines. (3.) Those which contain the names of chiefs and private individuals in a list which may resemble the roster roll of modern armies. (4.) Those which relate to the events which have occurred in the history of a tribe. These are all very valuable and furnish many clues to the interpretation of the effigies, but it is with the fourth class that we have especially to do in the comparison. According to the testimony of Colonel Mallery, the Dakotas had certain persons among them who were trained to the art of picture-writing, or record-keeping, and who

were really the tribal historians. They filled an important office, and resembled in this respect the keeper of the sacred pipes, whose office was hereditary. Their records related to very trifling events, or events that seem to us very trifling—such as the appearance of certain diseases; killing a small number of Dakotas by their enemies; the hardships of certain seasons; the stealing of a certain number of horses; the celebration of certain dances; the building of trading posts; the appearance of soldiers—most of them modern events. It is through these charts or pictographs that we learn the method of recording events and the kind of events which were regarded as worthy of record, and by studying these we find there was a very general resemblance to certain groups of effigies which are found in the state.

We find that in these groups there are records, but they are records of a clan which occupied certain villages and claimed

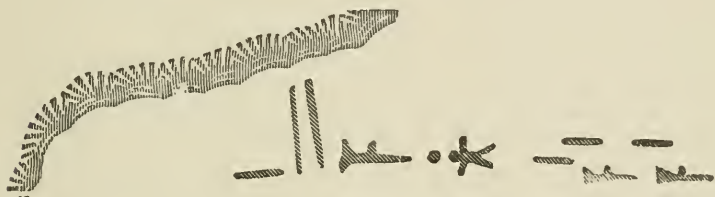


Fig. 279.—Game Drive near Madison.

certain habitats, and which held the right to certain garden beds, cornfields, caches and game drives, the burial of chiefs, and the celebration of the dances, and pertained to the prehistoric period. The most striking record is that which relates to the conducting of successful hunts, especially by members of the clans which have wandered from their own habitats, and have killed certain animals in remote out-of-the-way places. This last method of making a record is, to be sure, one which brings some confusion into the clan map, for it presents the animal totem of distant clans on the habitats of other clans and associated with animals which are not clan totems at all. Ordinarily a game drive will contain the effigies of the animals hunted, as well as the totem of the clan on whose territory the game drive is situated. There will also be the animals which may be regarded as prey-gods, such as the fox, eagle, hawk, buzzard, panther, and wolf. These are all beasts of prey, but were, nevertheless, invoked by the hunters as aids. It was the custom to defer the hunt for the large animals, such as the elk, buffalo and deer, until after a dream had appeared and all the signs were favorable, for hunting was as much a religious exercise as dancing or the burial of a chief. If we examine the groups of effigies which are plainly game drives, we shall find this to be the case in the majority of instances. The game drives have the animal hunted

and the people hunting surrounded by the animals who are attending the hunters, thus making an actual pictograph, in which the clan totems and the animals are mingled together, the number of animals slain being sometimes recorded in the string of circular mounds. The game drives were made up of mechanical contrivances, (a) such as embankments covered with screens of brush for hiding the hunters;* (b) also groups of conical mounds, on which lookouts were stationed, and long lines of mounds situated on the bluffs, which served as elevated ways and runways for the lookout messengers; (c) also conical mounds surrounded by embankments on which fires could be lighted at night for the purpose of attracting the game;† (d) also embankments which surrounded the feeding places of the grazing animals; (e) a series of game drives or traps through which the animals would be chased until they became confused and were slaughtered by the hunters;‡ (f) occasionally the building of a lodge near the screens, in which the hunters could stay while the duck and wild fowl returned from their flight. All of these have been noticed by the writer in different places. These were important, for they show what the contrivances were, and where they were placed, and they furnish an explanation of the map of the effigies.

These we regard as specimens of picture-writing, for they are groups in which we may read the story of a successful hunt, and can tell the clan of the hunters, the animals hunted, the number of animals slain, and the animals which followed the hunt and fed upon the slain carcasses. These were evidently intentional records and could be interpreted by the effigy-builders. It may be that there was claim of possession in some of the game drives, as the clans placed their totems near the different game drives as much as they did their villages, but the most remarkable of the groups are pictographs. We shall endeavor to illustrate this by certain specimens. We would here refer to the various groups we have called game drives, in which animals seem to be chasing one another; bears chasing the deer, as at Green Lake; also deer flying among squirrels and wolves, in the same locality; deer running among eagles and long mound embankments, as at Eagle Township; elks surrounded by eagles and mink at the Stone Quarry at Madison; elks or buffalo surrounded by eagles, and swallows, as on the Kickapoo River; moose fleeing among the embankments, as at Honey Creek; birds, foxes, squirrels,

*The plates illustrate this contrivance, which was very common. Such embankments were scattered over the state, but according to Dr. Thomas' testimony, are rarely found elsewhere.

†Fig. 21 illustrate this contrivance. There are other localities in which the same contrivance may be seen. One at Merrill's Springs, near Madison, another on the east side of Lake Monona.

‡The map of the "works" at Eagle township, as well as that of the works at Madison, illustrate this contrivance. It will be seen that there were "game drives" scattered over the entire region, so that the animals could scarcely escape from one before they were driven into another. See maps.

coons and wolves apparently in motion, as at Mayville; elk surrounded by eagles, hawks and foxes at Honey Creek; bears and buffalo among swallows, near Hazen's Corners; elks surrounded by minks and wolves at Merritt's Landing; panthers running among round mounds and long mounds, as at Potosi; buffalo among bears at Shooting Park at Madison, panther among foxes or coons at New Lisbon.

These are all of them picture writings on a large scale, for some of them cover several hundred feet of ground, the effigies in some cases being from 100 to 600 feet in length. We cannot help thinking that these groups were records, as well as mechanical contrivances. They commemorate the place where certain animals were hunted and killed, as well as marked the place where the animals were accustomed to make their runways.

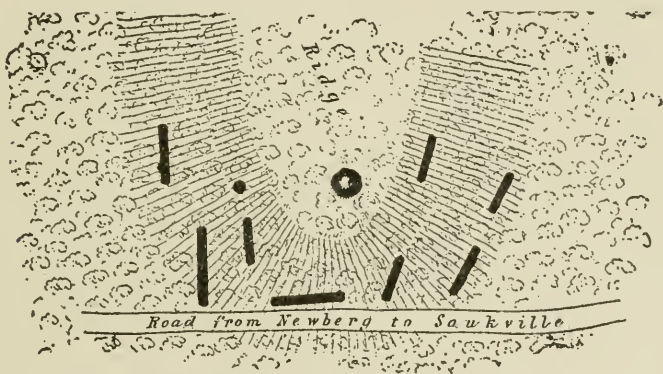


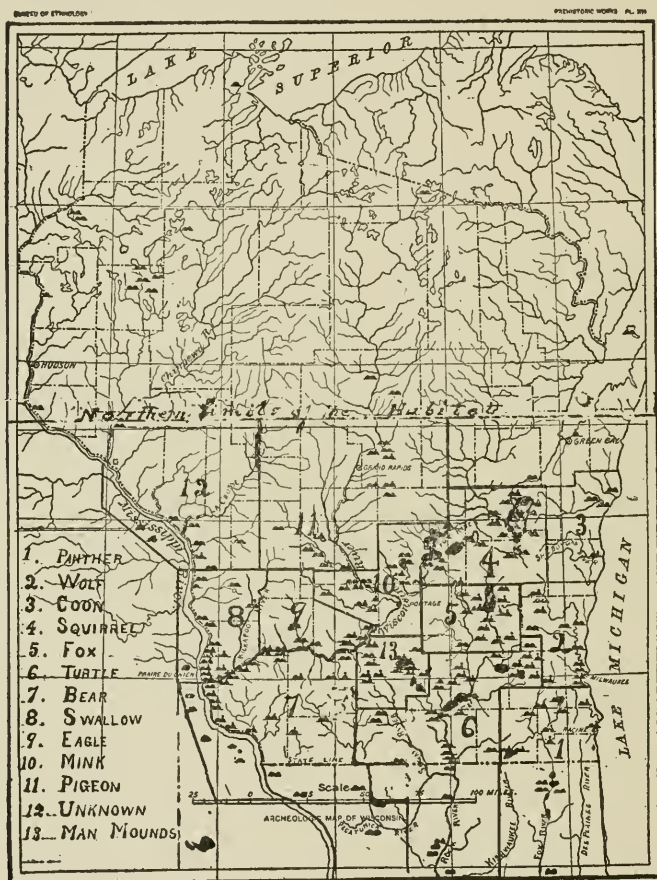
Fig. 280.—Signal Station or Fire Decoy.

They may represent the place where certain clans had their game drives, and so be signs of possession; but there are groups in which clan totems are remote from the clan habitats in which the clan totems of distant clans are mingled together. These we take to be the record of certain eventful hunts in which the clans met together.

IV. The comparison of the clan habitats and the clan villages of the effigy-builders with those of the modern tribes of Indians will next be considered. We may say that the effigy-builders differed from the modern tribes in that their clans occupied river valleys and covered the valleys with clan totems, while among the later Indians whole tribes occupied the villages and gave their name to the rivers, for the Mianii, the Illinois, Menominee, Iowa, Kansas and Arkansas all bear the names of tribes which formerly lived on them. There are also entire states which take their name from the aboriginal inhabitants—Illinois, Dakota, Kansas and Arkansas. This, however, only shows the changes which have occurred.

Now this is the point which we are to bring out by the ma

which we furnish. See map. This map is based mainly upon the study of the effigies; but for the purpose of comparison with the work which has been done by others, we have selected the diagram published by the Ethnological Bureau in connection with the catalogue of the mounds and earth-works in the state,



CLAN MAP OF THE EFFIGY-BUILDERS.

and which is covered with the symbols which mark the location of the mounds. This catalogue has been carefully made out by Mrs. Thomas, the wife of Dr. Cyrus Thomas, after examining all that had ever been written upon the effigy-builders, and the locations of the mounds noted. We have added to the map certain straight lines, which, according to our study of the effigies, mark the habitats of the clans. The map itself will illustrate the river system and the conformity of the clan habitats to the system. We will only mention the name of the clans and

the number of effigies which were left by them, and then leave the reader to decide as to the identity of the clan with the locality. The following is the list: (1.) There are in the Fox River valley over twenty panther effigies, located as follows: at Burlington, one; Big Bend, nine; Racine, five; Milwaukee, five. There are in this region no wolves, deer, foxes, elk, or even eagles, though there are a few birds resembling prairie chickens and several turtles. The evidence is that the panther was the totem of the clan. (2.) The valley of the Milwaukee River contains many wolf effigies, showing that it was the habitat of the wolf clan. They are as follows: Milwaukee, seven; Waukesha, seven; West Bend, eight. There are a very few panthers, very few turtles, but several wild geese in this district. There are more wolves here than in any other part of the state. (3.) The Sheboygan River seems to have been the habitat of the coon, for coon effigies are numerous, though squirrel effigies are as numerous, making it somewhat doubtful as to which was the clan totem. There are at Sheboygan five coons and four squirrels; West Bend, two coons, fourteen squirrels and eight wolves, showing that the clans mingled together and were at peace with one another. (4.) The squirrel habitat was in the vicinity of Lake Winnebago and Green Lake, for squirrel effigies are very numerous here. It was a clan which seemed to frequently go beyond its borders, for there are groups in which squirrel effigies abound in the following places: Lake Winnebago, fourteen; Sheboygan, eleven; West Bend, twelve; Green Lake, east side, fourteen; Green Lake, west side, six; Utley's, six; Buffalo Lake four; Lake Puckaway, four—seventy in all. (5.) The habitat of the fox clan was in the vicinity of Lake Horicon and Rock River, with its branches. It contains about seventeen fox effigies; Mayville, five; Horicon, seven; Ripley Lake, two; Fox Lake, three. (6.) The habitat of the turtle clan was in the Rock River valley, for there are here twenty-five or thirty turtles; at Beloit, seventeen; Lake Koshkonong, seven; Aztalan,* five; Fort Atkinson, three; Delevan Lake, five; Lake Geneva, one. (7.) The bear clan was situated south of the Wisconsin River and on the dividing ridge. Here are thirty-eight bear effigies, as follows: at Madison, three; seven miles west, seven, Blue Mounds, six; Mount Horeb, two; Banfield Place, eight; on the Wisconsin River, five; on the Iowa bluffs, seven. (8.) The

*The tribal capital was undoubtedly situated at Aztalan, for this was centrally located and was connected with all the other clans by trails and water courses. The platform mounds, the walls with bastions, and the outworks are similar to those in the village site in Vanderburgh County Indiana, which have been recently described by Dr. Thomas in the book on Mound Exploration. It only shows the resemblance between the tribal villages or capitals in prehistoric times. There is a resemblance between clan villages which have been identified among the effigies and the ancient village of Secotan, which was painted by the artist Wyeth and described by DeBry. This proves that the clan villages were very similar to tribal villages; clan villages having garden beds, corn fields; lookouts and guards in the fields, ponds and springs of water, places for shooting game, dance circles, places of sacred feasts, and burial places. Some of them were surrounded with stockades, some with heavy earth walls, as in Ohio; some with effigies, as in Wisconsin, and some of them without any defense, as in Virginia.

swallow clan was situated north of the Wisconsin and on the Kickapoo River, with twenty-seven effigies, as follows: On the dividing ridge Sec. 6, T. 8, R. 5, one; at Prairie du Chien, three; Hazen's Corner's ten; on the Kickapoo, three; Port Andrews, eleven; on the Iowa bluffs, five; Honey Creek, four; Sec. 19, T. 9, R. s 1. (9.) The eagle clan had its habitat north of the Wisconsin, Indian River and Honey Creek, with thirty-six eagle effigies at the following places; Eagle township, twenty; Muscoda, five; Honey Creek (Sec. 5, T. 10, R. 7), three; at the Delles, three; Madison, five. (10.) The mink clan had its habitat on the Baraboo and on the Wisconsin, with twenty-two mink effigies as follows; Devil's Lake, three; Baraboo, thirteen; Endeavor, on Buffalo Lake, three; Madison, three. (11.) The Pigeon clan was on the Lemonweir, with effigies at Mauston, seven; One-mile Creek, three; New Lisbon, three. (12.) The clan occupying the Four Lake region seemed to have the man mound for its totem.* There are fifteen man mounds: Lake Mendota, four; Lake Monona, two; Devil's Lake, three; Baraboo, two; Seven-mound Prairie, two; on the Wisconsin River, two. There are no man mounds outside of this region.

We see then from this map that the clans were widely scattered, but were at the same time closely connected, for the river system of the state forms a unit, which favors the abode of a single tribe divided into clans. There is no disputing the evidence. There may be mistakes in reference to the exact locations of the villages, and occasionally a mistake in reference to the identity of the animals whose effigies surrounded the villages. but the correspondence of the clan habitats to the river valleys is too well marked by the grouping of the effigies for us to doubt this point. We therefore call attention to the grouping of the effigies as evidence that the clans occupied the river valleys and had the names or totems we have ascribed to them.

We are convinced that great changes have occurred since the mound-building age. If the ancestors of the Indians were the Mound-builders, as many claim that they were, the Indians have degenerated and their former state may be better learned from the study of the effigies than from the tribes that are still living.

* The man mounds are very suggestive of a myth which prevailed among the Osages, a branch of the Dakotas. This myth was one which attended the tree of life. This tree grew beside a river and above the four houses or caves which constituted the original home of the human race. The tree itself was surrounded by the seven stars—morning star, evening star, sun and moon—and was in the upper world. According to the myth, the souls of men were at first without bodies, but as they passed up the ladder from one cave world to another they applied for bodies, but did not receive them until they reached the fourth world. They then did not receive human bodies, but the bodies of birds, the wings serving for arms; the birds' bodies and beaks for human heads and bodies; the birds' toes and claws for human feet. This accounts for the many figures in the inscribed rocks which resemble both birds and human beings (see Diagrams XIII and XIV); also for the many bird effigies which so resemble human forms, the birds shading more and more into the human shape. See Fig. 271; also Plate.

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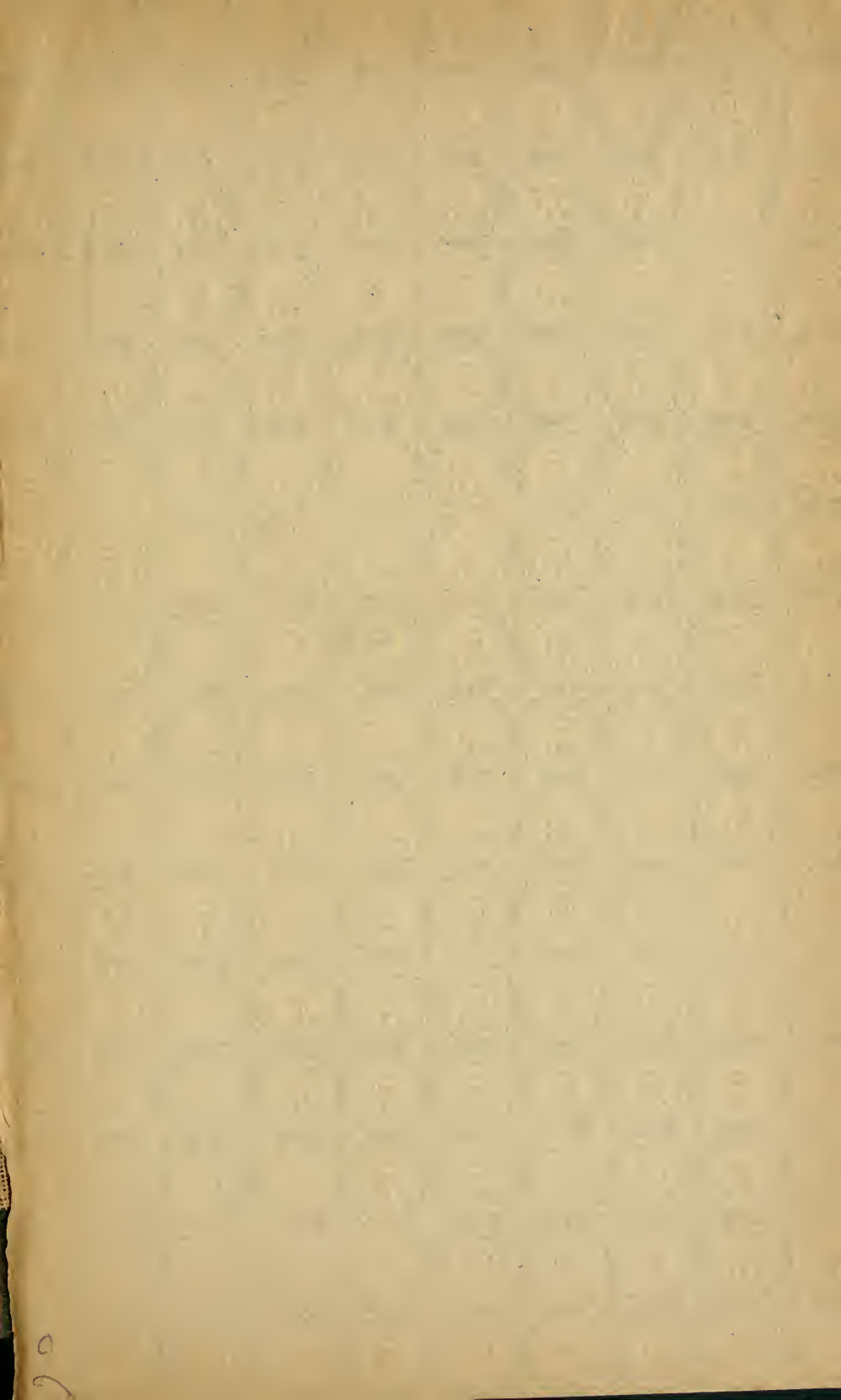
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